

A HISTORY OF SOUTH KANARA

To

MY LATE LAMENTED FATHER

VIDYĀSĀGARA

K. L. VYASARAYA SASTRI

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

ಆ, ಅ = ā,	ಈ, ಀ = ī,	ಊ, ಁ = ū
ಋ, ೠ = ṛi,	ಌ, ಡ = ē,	ಒ, ಔ = ō
ಱ, ಡ = ṇ,	ಚ, ಞ = ch,	ಛ, ಞ = chh
ಞ, ಣ = ñ,	ಟ, ಠ = ṭ,	ಠ, ಠ = ṭh
ಡ, ಢ = ḍ,	ಢ, ಢ = ḍh,	ಣ, ಣ = ṇ
ಶ, ಸ = ś,	ಷ, ಷ = sh,	ಱ, ಱ = ḷ

Dravidian palatal alveolar *n* = ṇ

Dravidian palatal alveolar *r* = ṛ

Dravidian cerebral retroflex = ḷ

anusvāra = ṁ

visarga = ḥ

upadhmāniya = ḥ

jihvāmūliya = ḥ

FOREWORD

DR. B. A. SALETORÉ wrote his "Ancient Karnāṭaka Vol. I, History of Tuluva" in 1936. Since then, no other work on the early history of Tuluva or South Kanara except the present one has seen the light of day. Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the author of this work, like Dr. Saletore, comes from South Kanara. Not only did he have the earlier reconstruction of the history of his district by his distinguished predecessor as the starting point of his work, in addition, being an officer in the Department of Epigraphy, he had at his command the vast wealth of the inscriptional material. He has the requisite knowledge of the languages in which this material is expressed and also of the stages in their evolution and of the corresponding variations in their script. Above all, he has a keen sense of history which has enabled him to reject as unhistorical traditional history like *Grāmapaddhati* and *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* which had been relied upon by some earlier scholars. Thus fully equipped, he has produced an authoritative history of his district.

The present work can be divided into 3 parts. The first one — the introductory chapter — deals with the land and the people and discusses the sources of the subject. The second part in six chapters describes the political history of South Kanara upto the downfall of Vijayanagar in 1565 and is devoted to Tuluva under the early and mediaeval Ālupas, during the Hoysala domination and as a province of the Vijayanagara empire. The third part is concerned with cultural history and in three chapters describes administration, social and economic life and religions which flourished in South Kanara during the period.

Some of the contributions made by the author to political history are the following :

1. Vincent Smith was the first to put forward the theory that the Satiyaputras of Aśoka's inscriptions were identical with the people of South Kanara, because as

he says "It (South Kanara) adjoins Kerala, is the territory of a Dravidian people and so completes the summary enumeration of the Dravidian nations given in Rock Edict II". Later writers had given up this sound view. Dr. Ramesh examines their views and finds them unsatisfactory and reverts to the earlier view of Smith and strengthens it by new arguments.

2. Dr. Ramesh is one of the first to make use of the Saṅgam literature for the reconstruction of the post-Mauryan history of South Kanara.
3. He has fixed the chronology and genealogy of the Ālupas with greater precision than before. He has also assessed properly the contributions of the Hoysaḷas and Vijayanagara to Tuḷuva. He has also reconstructed the history of the local dynasties like the Baṅgas, the Chauṭas, the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa and Nagire and Hāḍuvalli families.

To the general reader, the cultural part of this history reads better than political history with its technical discussions regarding dates and succession. Our author has thrown welcome light on the working of the local assemblies and the guilds which flourished during the period. His identification of the guild of Hañjamana with traders from Arabia and Persia rather than with the local guilds like Añjuvaṇṇam is noteworthy. The *aḷiya-santāna* (uncle to nephew) system of succession is a development in this district from the Vijayanagara times, when a number of local ruling families, mostly Jaina in faith, made their appearance. These families followed this system and naturally enough a good section of the people also followed it. Dr. Ramesh rightly thinks that the prevalence of this system in parts of the adjacent state of Kerala may have been responsible for its introduction into Tuḷuva.

Though this work is a history of South Kanara it is useful for the history of the neighbouring district of North Kanara and the Malnad districts of Hassan, Kadur and Shimoga because

some of the dynasties which ruled in South Kanara also ruled in parts of these districts and *vice versa*. Incidentally this work throws light on the dynasties which ruled in the rest of Karnatak like the Kadambas, Early and Later Chalukyas, Rāshtrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas and Vijayanagara.

Dr. Ramesh has shown in this work that he can present a well - written and well - documented work. The world of Indian Historical scholarship can confidently look forward to many more contributions from him.

— G. S. DIKSHIT

P R E F A C E

My main intention in this work is to place before scholars and students of Indian and, in particular, South Indian history, an exhaustive chronological arrangement and discussion of epigraphical records pertaining to the history of South Kanara so that that small yet significant coastal tract may receive adequate attention and treatment at the hands of Indian historians who, in the absence of reliable reference works, have a natural tendency to confine themselves, more or less wholly, to the affairs of the imperial dynasties and kingdoms. As a consequence, I have had to keep in mind the constant need to stress, time and again, the historical import of the provenance, date and contents of the numerous inscribed records which have any relevance to the history of South Kanara. This and my predicament of having to draw the attention of the readers to the fact that since Saletore wrote his '*History of Tuluva*' in 1936, many new inscriptions have been brought to light and many points of doubt and controversy in South Indian history have been finally settled, have resulted in a number of repetitions which, in my humble opinion, are unavoidable and, to some extent, welcome in a work of reference. My '*History of South Kanara*' should, therefore, be more aptly considered a 'contribution' to South Kanara history in the form of a reference work rather than as, by itself, 'a history' of that district. This is not an apology tendered in anticipation of criticisms but is an invitation to the world of young historians to bring out such specialised books for the other regions of Karnāṭaka as well.

Eversince I joined the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund (now Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore) in 1956, I have been making a sustained study of the inscriptions hailing from and pertaining to South Kanara. Yet it was only in 1963 that I had the good fortune to commence work on this book under the guidance of my respected professor, Dr. G. S. Dikshit, Head of the Department of History, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

From then on until I finished working on the project in 1965, Dr. G. S. Dikshit was a constant source of inspiration and encouragement and regularly guided me in my work, thus enhancing its reliability many times over. He has further blessed me by writing a weighty foreword. Indeed words fail me in my endeavour to express sufficiently my sense of indebtedness and gratitude to Dr. G. S. Dikshit.

I wish to express my respectful thanks to Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, Retired Government Epigraphist for India and Dr. G. M. Moraes, the renowned historian, for their invaluable suggestions and words of encouragement.

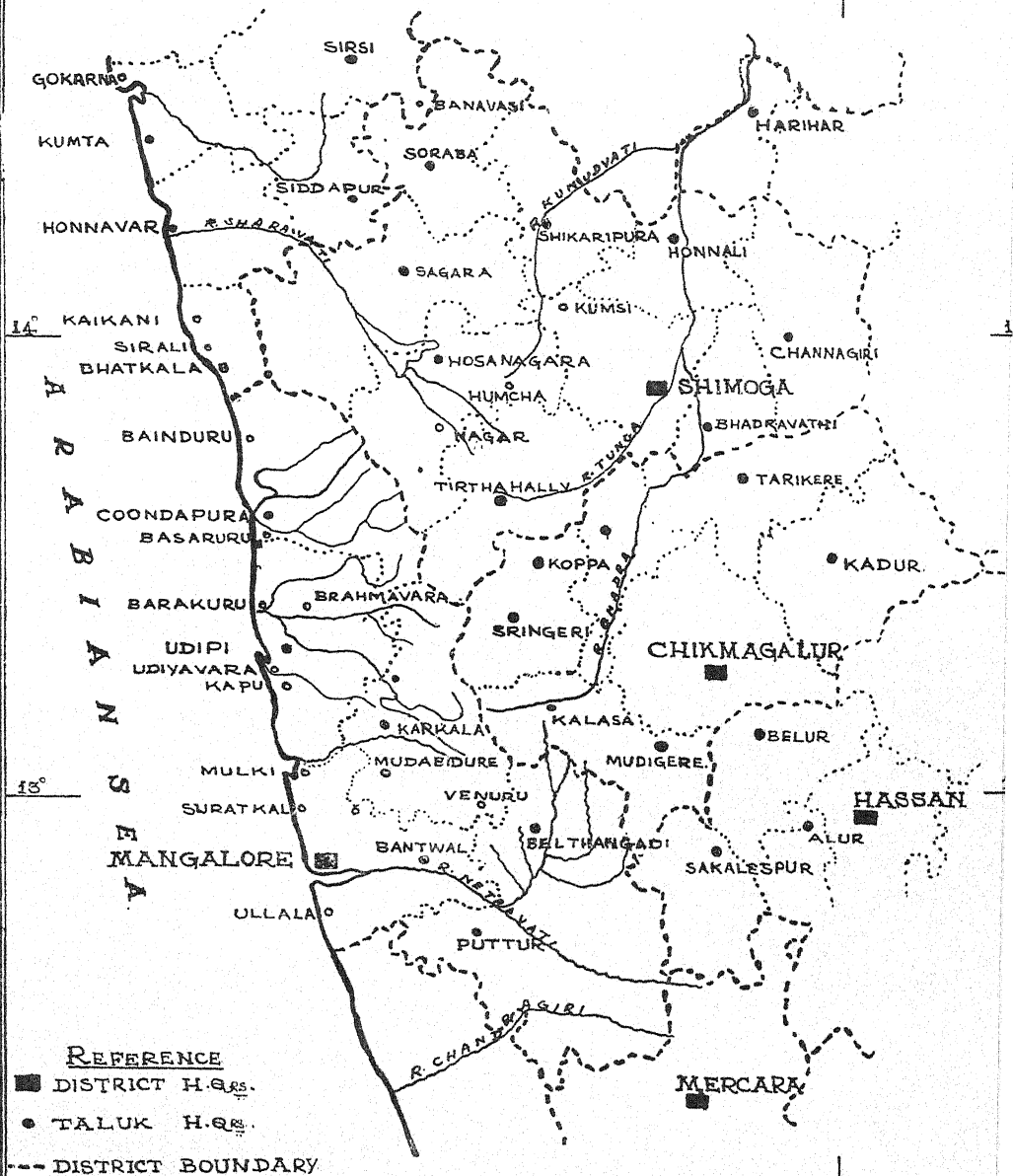
Whatever success I have thus far registered as an epigraphist, I owe it to my vocational guide and teacher, Dr. G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore. Hard taskmaster that he is, Dr. G. S. Gai is most easily accessible to all sincere historical research workers and the amount of advice and encouragement I have received from him at all times and also in the preparation of the present volume is immeasurable. I am also deeply obliged to him for kindly permitting me to utilise all the unpublished epigraphical material in his office. I am thankful to the authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India and, in particular, to Dr. G. S. Gai, for permitting me to illustrate in this volume seven inscriptions from South Kanara.

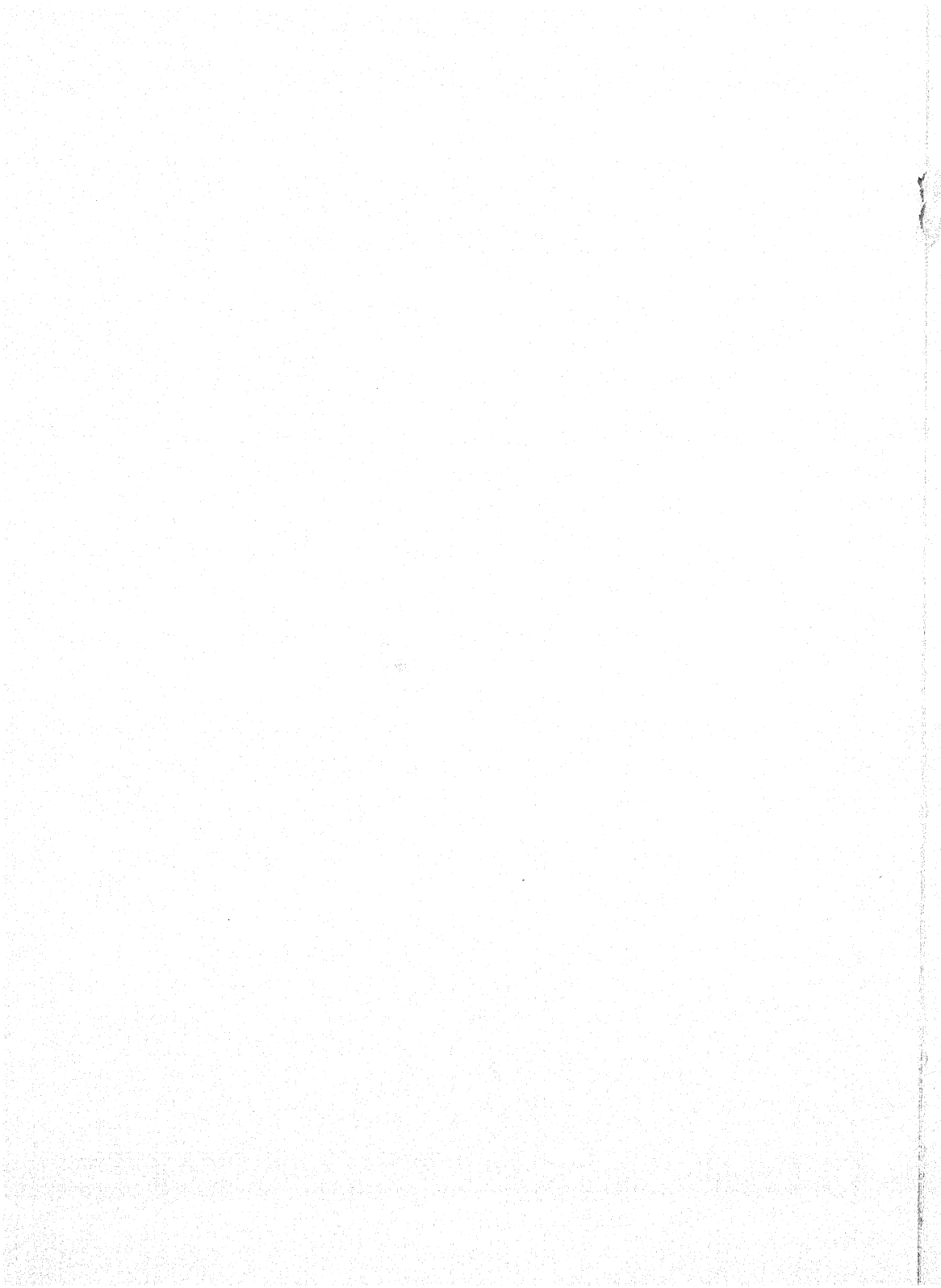
I thank the Vice-Chancellor, the Registrar and the Director, Publications Division, Karnatak University, Dharwar for kindly undertaking to publish this work and the University Grants Commission for generously enabling them to do so.

My colleague Shri Madhav N. Katti, M.A., Dip. Arch. and my friend Shri M. Jayarama Sharma, M.A., B.L., have gone through parts of the proof for Chapters II and III. My friend Shri D. Amose, B.A., now in the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, has greatly helped me in the preparation of the manuscript copy and the index. I am deeply obliged to these friends.

I must register here my indebtedness to Prof. K. S. Haridasa Bhat, Principal, M. G. M. College and Director, Rashtrakavi

MAP OF SOUTH KANARA AND ADJACENT TERRITORIES





Govinda Pai Memorial Research Institute, Udipi, the foremost among my well-wishers, for bringing out in excellent form my maiden Kannada venture *Tuḷunāḍina Itihāsa* (1969) which serves as a vernacular introduction to the present work.

I remember thankfully the benefits and help I have derived from Dr. D. C. Sircar, the great Indian Epigraphist who initiated me into the mysteries of epigraphy and Dr. S. H. Ritti and Dr. B. R. Gopal, Readers in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

I sincerely thank the authorities of the Manipal Power Press and, in particular, the Manager Shri B. Krishnayya, for the excellent work they have done in the printing of this work.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this work is to present in detail the political history of the district of South Kanara, forming a part of the Mysore State, from the earliest traceable historical times to the fall of Vijayanagara in 1565 A.D. As a natural corollary, brief chapters on the administrative, social, economic and religious conditions which prevailed during the long period under study have been included.

The present work is, by necessity, chiefly based on the information contained in the numerous lithic and copper plate inscriptions hailing from the district and its adjacent territory. Geographically, the South Kanara region is separated from the rest of the South Indian peninsula by the formidable heights of the Western Ghats. Having had to lead, for most of its known historical period, a life of political and, to a lesser degree, cultural and linguistic isolation, largely owing to this geographical barrier, the region has, naturally enough, received very occasional and scanty notices in the literary works of the period in question. At the same time no literary works of the period produced in South Kanara itself and capable of adding to our knowledge of the region's history have so far been brought to light. The *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa*, which has come to be considered as an appendix to the ancient *Skandapurāṇa* and the *Grāmapaddhati*, a compilation of local traditions and legends, though they purport to delineate the history of South Kanara and though they lay claims to antiquity, betray, by their very contents, their recent origin. While I could not secure direct access to the pages of the *Grāmapaddhati* and had to depend entirely on the scholarly dissertation of Saletore on its unhistoricity,¹ I had the opportunity to personally

¹ *History of Tuluva*, pp. 347 ff.

examine the *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa*² and found it to be as unreliable as the other work. Nevertheless, wherever their statements have been found to agree with the known details of the region's history, they have been accepted and utilised in this work. Such instances are, of course, very few.

More than five hundred inscriptions, from South Kanara alone, have been studied in detail as a prelude to the preparation of this work. These records, covering, with a rather remarkable chronological continuity, the long period from the middle of the seventh century to 1565 A.D., fall into three distinct groups. The first group of inscriptions belongs to the period of the early Ālupas, from the middle of the 7th century to the middle of the 10th century. These handful of records are all undated and are, as a rule, brief and contain meagre information for the history of the region. Three factors have been taken into consideration in fixing their dates: (1) palaeography (2) historical information contained in them and (3) similar information contained in other contemporaneous records. The second group belongs to the period of the medieval and later Ālupas and also the Hoysaḷas and inscriptions of this group have been found in larger numbers than in the former case. Covering a period from 968 A.D. to the end of the 14th century, these records are more helpful in the task of reconstructing the history of the region. They, as also the earlier records, are of purely local interest and contain very few references to political powers outside South Kanara.

The third group of inscriptions belongs to the period of Vijayanagara. Starting from at least A.D. 1345, the district of South Kanara formed an integral part of the great empire right until, and even after, A.D. 1565. To this period belongs a large number of inscriptions on stones, many of them helping the student of history with detailed information on the political, social, economic as well as religious developments in the region during the period. Copper plate charters, which are totally absent in South Kanara in the earlier period make their appearance under the Vijayanagara rulers.

² *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* edited by Grerson de Cunha.

To these is to be added a few copper plate and stone inscriptions found outside the bounds of South Kanara but having a bearing on that region's history. It is from these records that the relationship of the local rulers of South Kanara with the regions and royal houses outside have to be known.

The region, whose history this work attempts to reconstruct, is referred to in the following pages either as the district of South Kanara or as the Tuḷu country or Tuḷuva. The present name of the region is South Kanara District and has been so since A.D. 1860 when it was given its present territorial shape, by the British administration.³ The region is referred to as *Tuḷu-nāḍu* in *Aganāṇṇūru*,⁴ a Saṅgam work of the early centuries of the Christian era and as *Tuḷu-vishaya* in the Bārakūru inscription⁵ of the reign of Baṅkidēva I. During the Vijayanagara period, South Kanara is also referred to in the inscriptions as Tuḷu-rājya and Tuḷu-dēśa. Āḷuva-khēḍa, a name given to this region by some outside inscriptions, is rarely used in this work to denote South Kanara mainly because no inscription from the Tuḷu country itself calls the region by this name.

We may now turn our attention to the geography of this territory. The anonymous author of a late medieval Kannaḍa inscription⁶ from Mūḍabidure, Karkala Taluk, South Kanara District, sings, in very general terms—

kāsār-ādigaḷim Tuḷu-dēśam
kaḍu-rayyam-ādud-ā Bharatad-oḷam

“In that land of Bharata was the Tuḷu country, rendered extremely beautiful by its ponds, etc.” This uncommitting location of the Tuḷu country follows a conventional dissertation in verse in the course of which the author reveals that this land of Bharata lay sprawled to the south of the Golden Mountain in the Jambu-dvīpa which is like a lotus in the centre of the salty

³ *Madras District Manuals — South Kanara*, p. 3.

⁴ *Agam*, 15.

⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 327.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 202.

ocean. While Jambu-dvīpa is one of the seven continents of conventional Indian geography, the Golden Mountain, referred to by the poet as *Pombatta* and *Suragiri*, is the mythical Mēru mountain which has been identified with the highland of Tartary north of the Himalayas.⁷ While this narrative does not seriously violate the sound theories of modern geography, authors of a few inscriptions⁸ of about the same period from the districts of South and North Kanara make the faulty claim that the Tuḷu country was situated in the Ārya-khaṇḍa which formed a part of Bhārata. The number of sources which place Ārya-khaṇḍa, more often termed Āryāvartta, between the Himalayas and the Vindhyan range is by far overwhelming.⁹

South Kanara forms the southern of the two coastal districts of present day Mysore State. The Western or the Arabian Sea is its natural boundary on the west. The coast line is almost straight, broken, however, at numerous points by rivers, rivulets, creaks and bays. The length of the coast line for South Kanara as it obtains today is just a little over eighty miles as against a distance of over one hundred and ten miles between two farthest points of the district. While the Western Sea receives scanty reference in Ālupa inscriptions, after the introduction of Vijayanagara authority, the many port towns in the district assumed great importance for even the very safety of the empire through the import of war-horses from foreign lands. Thus from the middle of the fourteenth century, the life of Tuḷuva came to hinge to a great extent on the maritime trade carried out from these ports.

Unlike the coast-line, the course of the Western Ghats, South Kanara's natural barrier on the east, is irregular. With, quite a number of peaks measuring to more than 4000 feet above mean sea level, three of them rising above 6000 feet, with the average altitude of the range being as much as 2000 feet and with

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V (1876), p. 333.

⁸ *SII.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 196 and 207; *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 41 and 49.

⁹ *vide* verse 22 of Chapter 2 of *Manusmṛiti* (Nirnayasagar edn.) which gives the lead to most of the later definitions.

the wild growth of dense and unfriendly forests all over, the western mountain range has served in the past to effectively isolate South Kanara from any easy and large-scale contacts with the regions to its east. Yet, it will be a historical error to hold that such isolation was complete, except perhaps in pre-historic times. In the north, the Western Ghats are, in the Coondapur Taluk, nowhere more than 25 miles from the sea and at one point they have only six miles of plain land between themselves. It is at this point that the northern boundary for South Kanara, separating it from the district of North Kanara, lies.

In the south, till the 1st of November 1956 when the States were reorganised, the Kasargode Taluk was the southern most division of the South Kanara district. This Taluk, which is now in Kerala State, exemplifies as to how effectively and completely a natural barrier could separate peoples of differing linguistic and cultural strains. For, the Chandragiri river, which cuts this Taluk into two parts, has for long been the most effective barrier between the Tulu speaking northerners and the Malayalam speaking southerners of the Taluk.¹⁰ Epigraphical discoveries in the Kasargode Taluk have been few and far between. Even the handful of records so far noticed from this tract add very little to our knowledge of the history of the period with which the present work is concerned. For purposes of this work, therefore, the Chandragiri river offers itself as the most reasonable boundary in the south.

Thus, moving from the north southwards, the present day district of South Kanara is bounded by the North Kanara, Shimoga, Chickmagalur, Hassan and Coorg districts of Mysore State and the Cannanore district of Kerala State. It is divided into the Coondapur, Udipi, Karkala, Mangalore, Belthangadi, Bantwal and Puttur Taluks.

We have pointed out above that though the Tulu country was isolated from the rest of South India, such isolation was not complete. It will be seen from Chapter II below that in the

¹⁰ *The Tulu Language: A Historical Survey* (QJMS., Karnataka Number), p. 2, foot-note 4.

early centuries of the Christian era, Nannan, an early ruler of the Tuḷu country, successfully carried his arms into the north-western parts of the Tamil country through Kerala, the northern extremes of which State were under his sway. Again, as shown in Chapter III, when the Āḷupas make their appearance in the middle of the seventh century, they are found in possession of the famous and ancient division called Banavāsi-12000 which comprised portions of the North Kanara, Dharwar and Shimoga districts. Besides this, the early Āḷupas also held sway over the Pombuchcha region which comprised portions of the Shimoga and Chickmagalur districts. Evidently, the Kollūr, Hosaṅgaḍi, Āgumbe, Shirāḍi, Bisli and Sampāji Ghats, which provide access into South Kanara at present, were made use of from early times by the people of Tuḷuva to maintain their lean contacts with the rest of South India.

During the medieval Āḷupa period, however, the territorial limits of the Tuḷu country had shrunk to practically the present day bounds of the district. It will be seen from Chapter IV that this period, ranging from the middle of the 10th to the middle of the 14th centuries, marked a period of political isolation for the Āḷupas when they were mostly left to themselves by the greater powers of the Deccan. The Pombuchcha region which had formed an integral part of the early Āḷupa possessions became the independent kingdom of the Śāntaras and was known as Sāntaḷige-1000 from about the beginning of the 10th century.

In the fourth decade of the fourteenth century, however, the Tuḷu country was shaken once for all from out of its isolation. From at least A.D. 1333, the district of South Kanara came under Hoysala sway and became a permanent part of the Vijayanagara empire as early as in A.D. 1345. It was during the Vijayanagara period that the territorial picture of the Tuḷu country underwent profound changes. With the disappearance of the Āḷupas, who lingered on as an autonomous ruling house till the end of the fourteenth century, a number of tiny principalities make their appearance, most of them under rulers professing the Jaina faith.

The more powerful among them possessed territories which were beyond the bounds of the Tuḷu country. The Hāḍuvaḷḷi and Nagire chiefs of North Kanara held sway also over the northern extremes of the South Kanara District. The powerful Jaina rulers of Kārkaḷa were also the rulers of the Kaḷasa region in the Chickmagalur District beyond the Ghats. Even some of the governors appointed by the Vijayanagara emperors to administer the Bārakūru-rājya served simultaneously as administrators of the neighbouring divisions. These facts find detailed elucidation in Chapter VI. Thus, the introduction of Vijayanagara authority in South Kanara heralded the end of the region's political and territorial isolation, and, of course, independence. Nevertheless, inscriptions of this period clearly illustrate the fact that the district did not lose its distinct territorial identity in itself.

As early as in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, referred to this region by its own name of Olokhoira = Āḷuva-khēḍa. To the Tamil poets of the Saṅgam Age (early centuries of the Christian era), it was known as Tuḷu-nāḍu. These points are discussed in detail in Chapter II. From the dawn of datable history in the middle of the seventh century, to the end of the fourteenth century, the region was under its own local ruling house, that of the Āḷupas. During this period, the kingdom bore the names of Tuḷu-vishaya and Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000. Even when, under the aegis of the Vijayanagara rulers, the territorial bounds of South Kanara had come to be readjusted, the region itself was called by such names as Tuḷu-dēśa and Tuḷu-rājya. While this persistent characteristic of territorial distinctness by itself justifies a separate study of the region's history, such an approach stands further vindicated by the fact that the region is important also as a significant linguistic compartment of the Dravidian family. It is the land of one of the five major Dravidian dialects, namely Tuḷu. The facts that the Tuḷu dialect belongs to the Dravidian stock and that it, at the same time, differs widely from its sister dialects Kannaḍa, Tamil, Telugu and Malayāḷam bear testimony to the early separation of

the Tuḷu speaking man from his other Dravidian brethren and to the long duration of his isolation in which he built up his own linguistic, cultural and even political set up.

This leads us to the question—how long ago did man first appear in the coastal district of South Kanara ? This question cannot be answered with chronological certainty. It is accepted on all hands that the earliest man in the western coastal belt was preceded by many generations elsewhere in the Deccan. In the remote past, more than now, the coastal tract, as also the mountain range to its east, were densely covered with impenetrable forests. Robert Bruce Foote says 'the settlement of man on the heavily forested mountain was not possible till he had obtained the use of iron axes, wherewith to fell the huge trees he had to clear away, before he could accomplish the agricultural work on a large scale.'¹¹ If we take into account the long years of industry and suffering in which the iron-age men would have been involved before finally clearing the forests and settling down to an agricultural life on the coastal tract, the association of Paraśurāma, who, as his very name suggests, had the axe for his weapon, with the creation of Tuḷuva and, for that matter, the whole of the western coastal tract, significantly called *Paraśurāma kshētra*, comes to bear a new significance. Perhaps, the faint recollections of what had happened in the remote past induced later generations to coin this legend, the antiquity and popularity of which are illustrated by its mention in the *Mahābhārata*¹² and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*.¹³ The dating of the earliest man in South Kanara to the Iron Age will, however, have to stand the test of a thorough Archaeological exploration which has not so far been conducted in that region.

As for the ethnic stock to which the first settlers in South Kanara belonged, on the strength of the Dravidian dialect of

¹¹ *Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities, Notes on Ages and Distribution*, p. 48.

¹² *Mahābhārata* (BOR., Institute, Poona, 1949), *Śāntiparva-Rājadharmaparva*, vv. 58-59.

¹³ *Raghuvamśa*, Chapter 4, vv. 53-58.

Tuḷu which is the oldest known dialect in the district, it may be surmised that they belonged to the Dravidian group. We suppose that at a very early period in the history of India, the whole of the sub-continent was inhabited by Dravidian tribes; when subsequently the Āryan hordes invaded the north of India, the Dravidian tribes living in those areas were forced to seek some other home. The majority of them fled towards the south as a result of which the Deccan plateau became overcrowded. People were obliged to go in search of less populated or uninhabited areas and, in course of time, permanent settlements were established along the coastal tracts, including South Kanara.¹⁴ In this task, the migrating Dravidian must have been greatly helped by the iron axe.

The Tuḷu dialect differs widely from Tamil and Telugu and, at the same time, betrays considerable relationship to Kannaḍa. It also displays striking similarities with the dialect of Koḍagu or Coorg. It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise that the Dravidian migrants who settled in South Kanara must have belonged to those tribes who lived in the western parts of the Deccan where to-day the Kannaḍa language flourishes. While the migrants were crossing the formidable Ghats, a portion of the migrating population may have settled down in the Koḍagu region while the rest wended their way down to the coastal tract across the ranges. The grim prospects of crossing the huge heights must have left these people in comparative isolation, thus resulting in the development of Tuḷu, 'a peculiar and very interesting language which looks as if it had been cultivated for its own sake.'¹⁵

We may now briefly discuss the origin and etymology of the word Tuḷu which has to-day come to signify the dialect, the people who speak it and the land where it is spoken. Many suggestions have been made by way of explanation. The explanations given in legendary works, seeking to derive the word

¹⁴ vide *The Tuḷu Language: A Historical Survey* (QJMS., Karnataka Number), pp. 8—9.

¹⁵ vide p. 35 of Introduction to 'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages' by Caldwell, II Edn.

Tuḷu from *Tulāpurusha dāna* and the mythical name of Tuḷubhan Perumāḷ are convincingly refuted by Saletore¹⁶ and, hence, are not dealt with here for fear of mere repetition. Saletore himself is of the view¹⁷ that Tuḷu owes its origin to the old Kannaḍa word *tūḷu* meaning 'to attack'. He also speaks at length about the war-like qualities of the Tuḷu man in support of his theory. It has, however, been pointed out above that, on the strength of the available epigraphical evidence, the name Tuḷu must be deemed as originally having been given the region of South Kanara by outsiders i.e. by the inhabitants of the Kannaḍa and Tamil countries who, incidentally, were not less war-like in their qualities than the people of Tuḷuva.

It has also been suggested that the word Tuḷu is to be derived from the original Dravidian form of *turu* standing for cattle and that the Tuḷuvās in ancient times belonged to the profession of cattle-breeders.¹⁸ On the one hand, the change of *r* into *ḷ*, as envisaged in the *turu* > *tuḷu* theory, can not be philologically justified. On the other hand, while numerous inscriptions from Kaṛṇāṭaka proper record the death of heroes in cattle raids, thus illustrating the importance of cattle in everyday life, not one such record has been found in South Kanara and, what is more, any visitor to the region will find even to-day that cattle in the Tuḷu country are undersized and that good cattle have to be brought from beyond the Ghats.

A view which has been dismissed, without much thought being bestowed upon it, is that the word Tuḷu itself, in its original form, signifies mildness, softness or meakness.¹⁹ In the Tuḷu language as spoken to-day, when this word qualifies certain fruits, it stands for the softness of the fruit; e.g. *tuḷuve pelakkāyi* (soft jack fruit); *tuḷuve kukku* (soft mango). In ancient days too, the region of South Kanara must have been famous for the variety of soft fruits and may have, therefore, come to be called Tuḷu-

¹⁶ *History of Tuḷuva*, pp. 1-4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

¹⁸ P. Gururaja Bhat: *Tuḷu-nāḍu*, pp. 27 ff.

¹⁹ *Madras District Manuals — South Kanara*, p. 2.

nāḍu outside its own bounds as a mark of distinction. The word *Tuḷu* thus appears to be a synonym of the Tamil word *tuḷir* which stands for a young leaf or tender foliage. As a prop to this theory may be quoted the name of an ancient division in the Dharwar region, namely Palāśikā—or Halasige—12000, evidently named after the Palāśa tree (*Butea frondosa*) which must have grown in abundance in that region.

The present work has been spread over ten chapters of which Chapter I contains the introductory statements made above. Chapters II, III, IV, V and VI deal with the political history of the district from the earliest beginnings to the fall of Vijayanagara. Of these, Chapter IV on the medieval Āḷupas commences with the reign of Kundavarma whose Kadiri inscription of A.D. 968, though a little early to be called medieval, nevertheless marks a new beginning in the epigraphical history of the region by giving, for the first time, the date of its writing. Chapter VI on South Kanara during Vijayanagara times, has grown lengthy. This has been to a great extent unavoidable chiefly because the history of the many local ruling families had to be narrated as and when their records appeared in the chronological sequence.

It may be felt that the reign periods of the Āḷupas, in particular of the earlier rulers, have been fixed in a rather arbitrary way. The fact, however, is that dated references to their reigns have been either totally lacking or few and far between. Nevertheless, the scientific method of assigning dates on palaeographical grounds has been strictly followed in such cases. Having been closely acquainted with the nature and contents of the early records from South Kanara, the present writer feels that future discoveries are not likely to effect drastic changes in the chronological and genealogical tabulations arrived at in this work.

Studies on the Art and Architecture and the Cultural aspects of South Kanara have not been included in this work, though enough source material is available on these topics. They have been left out for want of space.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

Very little is known about any aspect of life in South Kanara at the dawn of South Indian history which is generally dated from the rise of the Mauryan empire of Magadha late in the fourth century B.C. In those early times this tiny coastal tract does not appear to have played any significant role in the history of peninsular India. When this is viewed in contrast with the very close contacts which its southern counterpart, Kēraḷa or the ancient kingdom of the Chēras, maintained with its neighbours to the east from the earliest historical times, the inevitable conclusion is that the comparatively more formidable heights and thicknesses of the Western Ghats bordering on South Kanara successfully impeded the latter's contacts with adjacent territories in the Deccan as well as in the Tāmilian south. Yet this geophysical barrier did not leave the district in complete isolation even in those early times as is evidenced by the scanty epigraphical and literary references to this coastal region, starting from the edicts of Aśōka himself.

The second rock edict of Aśōka, who ruled over the whole of India except the extreme south from about 273-72 B.C. to about 232 B.C., while enumerating friendly countries bordering his vast empire, mentions five from the south, namely the Chōḍā, the Paṁḍiyā, the Kēralaputra, the Tāmbaparnṇi and the Satiyaputō.¹ Of these the first three represent the three ancient Tamil kingdoms of the Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Chēras while the fourth was, more likely, Ceylon² or, less likely, the region around the Tāmbaparnṇi river in the Tinnevelley district of the Madras State.³ The fifth name Satiyaputō, which is mentioned as such

¹ R. G. Basak: *Aśōkan Inscriptions*, pp. 5 ff.

² *CII.*, Vol. I, p. 117, footnote.

³ V. A. Smith: *Aśōka, The Buddhist Emperor of India*, III edn., p. 162.

in the Girnar and Kalsi versions, as Satiyaputē in the Jaugada version and as Satiyaputra in the Shahbazgarhi and Manshera versions of the second rock edict, still continues to be a subject of controversy.

It has come to be generally accepted that the Sanskrit version of Satiyaputō, Satiyaputē or Satiyaputra is Satya-putra. In view of the conclusions to be arrived at regarding the location of this Satiyaputra in the pages to come, it becomes necessary to refer to and to discuss hereunder the important among the numerous theories which attempt to identify this name with one or the other region of the country. Scholars who have dwelt upon this problem have put forth their own arguments in favour of locating Aśōka's Satiyaputra with the following regions:

1) According to V. A. Smith, in all probability the Satiyaputra people, kingdom or country "is represented by the Satyamangalam Taluk or sub-division of the Coimbatore District, lying along the Western Ghats, and bordering on Mysore, Malabar, Coimbatore and Coorg. The town of the same name commands the Gazalhatti Pass from Mysore, which used to be of strategical importance."⁴

2) S. V. Venkateswara observes — "Satyaputra was the name of the country or people having Kāñchīpuram for its capital"—The author puts forth the following arguments in support of the above theory:—

- a) Patañjali (C. 150 B.C.) "mentions not only Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Chēra dominions, but also Kāñchīpura. Satyaputra is conspicuous by omission, as Kāñchīpura is in the Aśōka edict. One may reasonably be inclined to ask if the one name could not be identified with the other."
- b) "Even to-day we find unmistakable evidence of ancient Bauddha vestiges at Kāñchī".
- c) "Even to-day the Brahmans of Kāñchī use the expression *Satyavrata-kshētra* in their religious rites. In a copper-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

plate grant of the seventeenth century Kāñchīpura is described as *Satyavrata-nāmāñkita-Kāñchī-divya-kshētra*".

- d) Pinbaḷagiya Perumāḷ Jiyar, a contemporary of Nam-piḷḷai, a desciple of Vaḍakkuttiruvīdi piḷḷai, who was a *prāśishya* of the great Rāmānujāchārya (c. 1100 A.D.), the founder of Śrī-Vaishṇavism, uses the expression *Satyavrata-kshētra* in his Guruparamparā.⁵

3) According to P. J. Thoma, Satyaputra is the same as the Satyabhūmi, mentioned "in at least two places in the *Kēraḷōt-patti* and which lay towards the north of the Chēramān's kingdom (Kēraḷa proper)".⁶

4) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says — "The first part of the word is generally taken to be *Satya*. I should like to raise the question whether it could not be regarded (even as an Apabhraṃśa form) as a derivative from *Satī* (Chaste wife). It seems to me to be a Kannaḍa Apabhraṃśa, meaning "Children of women who are peculiarly *Satī* (Chaste) with reference to the prevalent matriarchate where widowhood is impossible. This seems possible, as we know that Kannaḍa as a distinct language may reach back to Patañjali's age". At the end, the revered scholar concludes "It seems more likely, therefore, that these Satiyaputras were a western people, and have to be looked for between the Kēraḷas and the Rāshṭrakas along the western hills, and that it is likely that the Sātputē are their modern representatives. If so, could it not be the collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tuḷus and the Nāyars of the Malabar and Kanara districts of to-day ?"⁷

5) D. R. Bhandarkar says — "The close correspondence in sound of Satiyaputra and Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhas, is so striking that I am inclined to hold that the Sātputēs had formerly settled in the south on the Western Coast, as the mention of Satiyaputra in the edict points out, and

⁵ *JRAS.*, 1918, pp. 541-42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1923, pp. 411-14. In p. 412 the author defines Satyabhūmi as roughly corresponding to "North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Kanara."

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1919, pp. 581-84.

that they afterwards migrated as far northward as Mahārāshṭra, and were merged into the warrior and other classes.”⁸

6) According to G. Bühler “the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satvats.”⁹

7) T. N. Subramaniam observes— “.....the boundaries of the Koṅgu-nāḍu are as follows: In the north Talaimalai (in the Satyamangalam Taluk of the Coimbatore district near the boundary of the Mysore State), in the south Vaikāvūr (in Palni Hills), in the east Kuḷitalai (in the Trichy district) and in the west the Western Ghats. The Koṅgu-nāḍu was governed by a line of kings named Kōśar, and they are often mentioned in Tamil classical literature. They are famous for their *Satya*. In Aham they are often mentioned as —

Oṇṇumollik-Kōśar (196)

(Kōśar that always speak the truth.)

Vāymoḷi nilaiya śēṇviḷaṅgu nalliśai vaḷaṅgeḷu Kōśar (205)

(Kōśar, whose fame for speaking the truth has reached the heaven), etc.

Again Aham (262) has a reference to a story in which a Kōśar excused a man who committed a serious crime because he spoke the truth. Thus we see that they not only speak the truth, but also have a high regard for *Satya*. The Kōśars of Koṅgu are also of sufficient importance in the history of Tamiḷaham to deserve special mention in the inscription of Aśōka. Thus I identify the Satyaputra with the Kōśars of Koṅgu-nāḍu.”¹⁰

8) L. D. Barnett says — “Another tribe to whom he (i.e. Aśōka)¹¹ alludes is that of the Satiya-putas. Possibly they may represent the region around Mangalore; but it is at least equally likely that they were the fore-fathers of the Sātavāhana dynasty of the Andhra-dēśa.”¹²

⁸ *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI, p. 898.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 466, footnote 2.

¹⁰ *JRAS.*, 1922, pp. 84-86.

¹¹ The content within the brackets is mine.

¹² *The Cambridge History of India*, 1922, Vol. I, p. 603. As early as in 1887, Dr. Burgess suggested a possible connection between the Satiyaputa and the Sātavāhanas in *ASSI.*, (Amarāvati), p. 3.

Before discussing the merits or otherwise of the above theories, it is necessary to make here a few general observations. It may be safely assumed that, with the enumeration of the five South Indian countries, the second rock edict of Aśōka sought to cover the whole area that lay in the extreme south and outside his empire. It is known from the provenance of the Aśōkan edicts themselves that the Mauryan emperor's southern possessions dug well into the old Mysore State, thus leaving only the entire Tamil country and the present-day Kerala State and South Kanara district in independent existence. It is only proper to believe that the Chōḍā, Paṇḍiyā and Kēralaputra countries of the rock edict meant to cover the entire Tamil and Malayalam countries of to-day. We know that from the days of the earliest available Tamil literature, for centuries, the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra kingdoms, spread over the Tamil and Malayalam regions, loomed large over the possessions of numerous petty chieftains, depriving the latter of any significant role by themselves, let alone the accumulation of any importance to the extent of being mentioned as an independent neighbour by Aśōka.¹³ Theories based upon the assumption that Satiyaputra may refer to another less known or long obsolete region within the Tamil country will not, therefore, hold much water.

It is in this light that Smith's location of Satiyaputra in the Satyamangalam Taluk falls to the ground. As if to give credence to his theory Smith says—"In the seventeenth century there was a province called Satyamaṅgalaṁ in the Nāyak kingdom of Madura (Ind. Ant. XLV, p. 200). It is possible that that may have been meant by Aśōka".¹⁴ It is well known that after the destruction of Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century, the vast empire was divided into innumerable bits by warring chieftains. Satyamangalam was only one such. Epigraphical evidence from the concerned region itself does not help us take back

¹³ It is in this context that the identification of Aśōka's Tāmbapaṇṇī with Ceylon gains ground at the expense of its identification with the region around the Tāmbrapaṇṇī river which probably formed a part of the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas.

¹⁴ *Early History of India*, IV edn., p. 194, footnote 1.

the existence of the province or its name Satyamangalam to any antiquity. It is, therefore, surprising that Smith chose to identify Satiyaputra, mentioned in the rock edict of the 3rd century B.C., with Satyamangalam, a province of the seventeenth century A.D., on the mere ground that both the names contain the word *Satya* in their first half.

As for the identification of Satiyaputra with the Kāñchīpuram 'country', it should be pointed out that Satyavrata as a geographical name has not been shown to be sufficiently ancient. It has also been pointed out that Satyavrata, as a place-name, denoted, more strictly, only a part of the city of Kāñchīpuram.¹⁵ This famous city comes into political dominance for the first time during the time of the Pallavas in the sixth century A.D.¹⁶ and in those early times neither the city nor the country for which it was the capital was known by the name of Satyavrata.¹⁷ It is obvious that, like Smith, the author of the Kāñchīpuram theory was swayed by the presence of the word *Satya* in Satiyaputra and Satyavrata. It is very probable that Kāñchīpuram and its surroundings formed an integral part of the Chōla kingdom of Aśōka's times. If, on the other hand, the Kāñchīpuram region had been of such importance as to be mentioned in Aśōka's rock edict, early Tamil literature would not have completely ignored its existence.

Satiyaputra = Satyabhūmi is yet another identification inspired by the common word *Satya*. The author of this theory says—"The legitimate approach to the question seems to be to inquire whether the name "Satya" had been formerly used to denote any locality or region on the West Coast. The ancient literature of that country must enlighten us on the point. Early Tamil works like *Śilappadigāram* and *Pattu-pāṭṭu* were composed on the West Coast; and subsequently there arose agglomerations of Malabar legends such as *Kēraḷōtpatti* and *Kēraḷamāhātmya*." ¹⁸

¹⁵ *JRAS.*, 1919, p. 581.

¹⁶ *A History of South India*, II edn., p. 97.

¹⁷ For ancient names of the Pallava country see *JRAS.*, 1919, pp. 583-84.

¹⁸ *JRAS.*, 1923, pp. 411-14.

Early Tamil literature, however, did not help and hence the author resorted to *Kēraḷōtpatti* which, as has already been pointed out, mentions the Satyabhūmi 'in at least two places'. The untenability of this identification is inadvertently made out by the author himself when he says—"The *Kēraḷōtpatti* is a legendary work of uncertain date, and though it professes to give a continuous history of Malabar from Paraśurāma's days, it is replete with anachronisms and inaccuracies, which tend to discredit its historical value."¹⁹ On the basis of this unreliable work it is not advisable to try to demarcate the boundary of the Kēraḷaputra territory and then to say that whatever land then remained in the northern parts of the present-day Kēraḷa State may have been known as Satyaputra.²⁰

The ingenious interpretation of Satiya-putra to mean 'the children of Chaste Women' and its connection with the matriarchate tribes of the Tuḷus and the Nāyars of Kanara and Malabar becomes untenable by the mere fact that the accepted region for Kēraḷaputra also contained such matriarchate communities. Also, the assumption that the matriarchal system prevailed along the West Coast even in the days of Aśōka is very difficult to substantiate. Moreover, even in the days when clear evidence for the existence of the matriarchal system in the West Coast becomes available, the people who came to observe this system were not named after it as a tribe or community.

The sequence in which the names occur in the rock edict clearly points to the fact that Satiyaputra, like the other four names, was located only in South India.²¹ The Poona region, where the Sātputes live at present, was definitely included in the empire of Aśōka. Satiyaputra, on the other hand, was an independent country. Even the suggestion²² that the Sātputes migrated at a later date from their earlier abode in the south on the West Coast is not convincing in view of the improbability

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 411-12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

²¹ *Vide, Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 34 (1905), p. 251.

²² *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXI, p. 898.

of the so-called emigrants retaining their tribal or national name which was completely lost upon the tribe or nation from which they thus migrated. Again, only the close similarity between the names Satiyaputra and Sātpute has given birth to this theory.

Bühler does not follow up his suggestion that the Satiyaputa was probably the king of the Satvats with any explanations. He does not even say who the Satvats were and where they lived. The Satvats were an ancient tribe and find mention in the Vedic texts. The epic and Purāṇic traditions place them in the Mathurā district. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats seems to have migrated farther south because the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* describes²³ them as a southern people who lived beyond the Kuru-Pañchāla area i.e. beyond the river Chambal, and were ruled by Bhōja kings.²⁴ The above location of the Satvats does not take them south enough to even remotely connect them with the independent South Indian kingdom of Satiyaputra.

The attempted identification of the Kōśar tribe with the Satiyaputra of the Aśōkan edict is, as yet, the best conceived theory on the subject. References to the Kōśar in early Tamil literature as addicted to truth are clear and not very scanty, and their close association with the Tamil country is also well borne out.²⁵

There are, however, genuine difficulties in endorsing the theory that the Satiyaputra and the 'Kōśar of the Koṅgu Country' were identical. It is clear from passages in early Tamil literature that the Kōśar lived not only in the Koṅgu country but also in some other parts of the Tamil land as well as outside its bounds and that the name Kōśar applied to the whole of this Kōśar tribe, wherever they lived, and not to any line of kings who ruled over them. The only instance in early Tamil literature connecting

²³ *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.3.

²⁴ Ray Chaudhuri: *Political History of India*, 6th edn., p. 139.

²⁵ In view of the importance of the Kōśar to the early history of South Kanara, the relevant passages in early Tamil literature will be discussed in detail in the pages to come.

the Kōśar with the Koṅgu country occurs in *Śilappadigāram*²⁶ where the expression *Koṅg-iḷaṅ-Kōśar* is employed. *Iḷaṅ* means 'young' or 'later' and thus the expression seems to suggest that the Kōśar were the inhabitants of some other region and that, at a later stage, they migrated to the Koṅgu country.

On the other hand, when the references to the Kōśar in early Tamil literature are assembled in one place and studied together, it becomes obvious that they, as a people, were well distributed into warrior groups which assisted the many southern rulers in battles as mercenary troops. Their presence, in the early history of South India as revealed by early Tamil literature, in parts of the ancient Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms and also in Tuḷu-nāḍu (i.e. the district of South Kanara) is easily discernible.²⁷ Indeed the connection of the Kōśar with the Tuḷu country appears, from these literary passages, to have been of a more long-standing and original nature.

In view of these facts, it is unlikely that the rock edict would have mentioned a tribe which did not inhabit any one region but was constantly on the move. It is more unlikely that a part of the tribe living in the Koṅgu country, perhaps as the mercenaries of the Chōḷas, would have gained a mention in the rock edict of Aśōka. In their own homes and to their neighbours, they were known as the Kōśar. If the rock edict did mean them, why were they not named as Kōśar, by their proper name, instead of as Satiyaputra after one of their virtues ?

Barnett's identification of Satiyaputra with the forefathers of the Sātavāhanas of Andhra-dēśa fails owing to complete lack of evidence. The origin of the Sātavāhanas is still a subject of controversy. His alternative suggestion that Satiyaputra may represent the region around Mangalore is interesting though he does not adduce reasons for such an identification.

Vincent A. Smith was the first to suggest the identification of Aśōka's Satiyaputra with the Tuḷu country i.e. the South Kanara district. "Very little can be said about the south-

²⁶ *Śilappadigāram*, *uraipeṇu-kaṭṭurai* : 2.

²⁷ M. A. Durai Arangasami: *Śaṅgakālach-chirappuppeyargal*, p. 276.

western kingdoms, known as Chēra, Kerala and Satiyaputra. The last-named is mentioned by Aśōka only, and its exact position is unknown. But it must have adjoined Kerala; and since the Chandragiri river has always been regarded as the northern boundary of that province, the Satiyaputa kingdom should probably be identified with that portion of the Konkans—or low lands between the Western Ghats and the sea—where the Tulu language is spoken, and of which Mangalore is the centre.”²⁸ After defining the bounds of the Tulu country Smith continues—“The small area thus defined as occupied by the Tulu language seems to be admirably adapted to serve as the equivalent of Aśōka’s Satiyaputra. It adjoins Kerala, is the territory of a Dravidian people, and so completes the summary enumeration of the Dravidian nations given in Rock Edict II.”²⁹ Even at that time, Smith, however, had struck a note of doubt—“..... the proof of the suggested identity cannot be effected until it is shown that the name Satiyaputa is in fact connected with the Tuḷuva country, and at present such proof is lacking.”

Smith’s thought provoking theory failed to gain any considerable ground chiefly because he himself, without as much as adducing any tangible reason for disowning his own Satiyaputa=Tuḷuva theory, deemed it fit to switch over to the Satyamaṅgalam region in Coimbatore district as the modern representative of the ancient Satiyaputra. We have shown above that the Satiyaputra=Satyamaṅgalam theory is wholly untenable. On the other hand, the Tuḷuva theory, originally contributed by Smith and considered a possibility by Barnett, presents itself as the best answer to the Satiyaputra problem for the following reasons.

Smith’s claim that the identification of Satiyaputra with Tuḷuva completes the enumeration of the Dravidian nations of Aśōka’s times is indisputable. While Tāmraparṇī covered Ceylon, Chōḍā and Paṁḍiyā covered the eastern coast and the interiors of the Tamil country. Kēralaputra covered the south-

²⁸ V. A. Smith: *Early History of India*, I edn., p. 340.

²⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 34, (1905), p. 251.

ern extremes of the West Coast. The picture of the extreme south, as detailed in the rock edict would be complete with the inclusion of Tuḷuva or the South Kanara district. The existence of this tiny coastal strip as a separate political and linguistic entity from its earliest traceable historical moments does justify its inclusion in Aśōka's list of independent south Indian kingdoms. The only new and unidentified name being Satiyaputra, its identification with Tuḷuva ought to have exercised the minds of scholars, which, unfortunately, it has not.³⁰

The various theories quoted above were all built on the belief that Satiyaputra was either the Prākṛit form for Sanskrit Satya-putra or an expression meaning Satiya-putra = "Children of chaste women." It is, however, likely that, like the other four names of south Indian kingdoms, Satiyaputra was the long-standing proper name of a territory or a people. In view of this and in view of the fact that the Tuḷuva-part of the West Coast alone remains to be mentioned in order to complete the picture of independent South India in the days of Aśōka, it is only proper that we search for any possible relationship between Satiya-putra and Tuḷuva. It may be pointed out in this connection that the word *Satiya* bears close resemblance to *Sahya*, the name of a part of the Western Ghats bordering on Koṅkaṇ, including Tuḷuva. It is possible that either as a normal derivation or as a mistake *Sahya* came to be written in the rock edict as *Satiya*. It is true that the change from *Sahya* to *Sahiya* > *Satiya* cannot be justified on the basis of any known rules of grammar. Yet, the utter incompatibility of the other theories based upon *Satya* and *Satī* should help render this view a great possibility.³¹

It is well-known that while Malaya represented the range of Western Ghats bordering on Kēraḷa, *Sahya* was the name of

³⁰ Even B. A. Saletore, the only scholar who has attempted to write a comprehensive history of Tuḷuva, summarily dismisses the identification of Satiyaputra with Tuḷuva. See *History of Tuḷuva*, p. 374.

³¹ In this context, the writing of the name *Kēralaputra* as *Kēṭalaputra* in the Girnar and Kalsi versions of the rock edict proves to be of guiding importance.

its counterpart to the north.³² The late work called *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa*, which has now come to be appended to the *Skandapurāṇa*, definitely suggests, by giving the legendary history of Tuḷuva, that the Western Ghats bordering on South Kanara had come to be particularly identified with the name *Sahya*. Again, though Sahyādrī as the name of a mountain range may have extended to the north of South Kanara, the Aśōkan edict may have meant only that length of the range as borders on Tuḷuva for, north of the Tuḷu Country, the coast was most likely included in the vast Mauryan empire.³³ It has been shown that Pāli *putta*=Sanskrit *putra* at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe.'³⁴ Thus, if Satiyaputra could be taken to have resulted from Sahyaputra we may conclude that the Satiyaputra of the rock edict stood for the Tuḷu country and for the people who had that region for their home. The ethnic, political, cultural and linguistic individuality which the Tuḷuvas have maintained from early times is an important justification for this identification.

More information, though of an uncertain nature, on the history of South Kanara during and immediately following the Mauryan age is furnished by some poets of Saṅgam literature. It has been established on sound reasons that the Saṅgam age, to which belong the anthologies *Narṇṇai*, *Kuṇḍogai*, *Aiṅḡurunūru*, *Paḍirruppattu*, *Paripāḍal*, *Kalittogai*, *Aganānūru*, *Puṇanānūru* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* as also the well-known *Tolkāppiyam*, a comprehensive treatise on Tamil grammar, lasted during the first three or four centuries A.D.³⁵

Māmūlanār, a poet, most probably of the third century A.D., whose compositions have been included in the anthologies *Aganānūru*, *Narṇṇai* and *Kuṇḍogai*, says in one of his songs—³⁶

³² D.C. Sircar: *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 11, 12 and 23 note.

³³ For a definition of the southern limits of Aśōka's empire, see V.A. Smith: *Aśōka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, III edn., p. 80.

³⁴ See C II., Vol. I (New edn.), *Inscriptions of Aśōka*, p.3, foot note 7.

³⁵ See *A History of South India*, pp. 110 ff.

³⁶ *Agam* 15.

‘meymmali perumpūṭ-chemmaṛ-Kōśar

..... Tuḷu-nāḍu’

‘The Tuḷu country of the Kōśar who adorned their bodies with golden ornaments.’

This passage is of two-fold importance. It takes the word Tuḷu, as applied to the region concerned and, perhaps, to the people who dwelt there and to the dialect which they spoke, to the early centuries of the Christian era. It also definitely states that the Kōśar were the inhabitants of the Tuḷu country. The Kōśar, as has been pointed out above, were a warrior tribe and a few passages in Saṅgam literature refer to their valour. One such from *Aganāṇūru* says—³⁷

‘irumbiḍam paḍutta vaḍuvuḍai mugattār

karuṅgaṭ-Kōśar’

‘The black-eyed Kōśar whose faces bear marks of wounds inflicted by iron arms.’

Another passage from the *Puṇanāṇūru* reads—³⁸

‘..... veṇ-vēl

iḷam-pal-Kōśar viḷaṅgu paḍai kaṇmā-

riḷaliṇar-eṇḍav-agal-ilai murukkiṇ

perumarak-kambam’

‘pillars of the *murukku* trees with their wide leaves at which many youthful Kōśar aim their shining spears to find the best marksman in their midst.”

We learn from *Aganāṇūru* that Chellūr, Niyamam, characterised by the sound of the roaring waves of the sea,³⁹ and Podiyil⁴⁰ were places which belonged to the Kōśar. On the strength of Māmūlanār’s statement, referred to above, that the Kōśar belonged to the Tuḷu country, it has been suggested elsewhere⁴¹ that these places, Chellūr, Niyamam and Podiyil may have to be located in the Tuḷu country. It is, however, obvious, on the authority of the Saṅgam literature, that the Kōśar, besides

³⁷ *Agam* 90.

³⁸ *Puṇam* 169, lines 8-11.

³⁹ *Agam* 90.

⁴⁰ *Agam* 251.

⁴¹ *Śaṅgakālach-chiṭṭappuppayargal*, p. 277.

inhabiting the Tuḷu Country, lived also in parts of the ancient Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms. As has been suggested earlier, they may have migrated into the interiors of the Tamil country from Tuḷuva. The *Maduraikkāñchi*, an ancient Tamil work, refers to the Kōśar as *nāṇmolik-kōśar* i.e. 'the four-tongued Kōśar.' This has been taken to mean 'Kōśar who could speak the four languages, Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil.'⁴² This may be interpreted to mean that the Kōśar, even when they disintegrated and settled down in different parts of South India, did not lose their identity immediately.

What is of topical interest to us at this stage is the mention of the Kōśar, in certain passages in Saṅgam literature, with reference to an invasion of the South by the Mauryas. The episode is referred to by Māmūlanār in two songs which have found their way into the *Aganāṇūru*. In view of their importance to the early history of Tuḷuva, they deserve to be discussed in some detail. The first song, in its relevant parts, reads—⁴³

'..... *valkoḍit-*
tunai-kāl-anṇa puṇaitērk-Kōśar
tonmūd-ālatt-arumbaṇai-podiyil
inṇisai-muraṣai-kadipigutt-iraṅgat-
temmunai-śidaitta nāṇrai Mōgūr
paṇiyāmai-yir-pagai-talai vanda
mākelu-tānai Vamba Mōriyar
puṇaitēr nēmiy-uruliya kuṇaitta
vilaṅgu veḷḷ-aruviya vaṇai-vāy'

'On the day of destruction in the battlefield, when the Kōśar, whose decorated and quick-wheeled chariots (flew) the flags of victory, (beat) their melodious drums resounding sharply and at high pitch in their assembling spots under the big branches of old and well-spread-out banyan trees, as the neighbouring Mōriyar came with the great army against (the chieftain of) Mōgūr because of his insubordination, the wheels of their quick-wheeled chariots rolled,

⁴² P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar: *History of the Tamils*, p. 526.

⁴³ *Agam* 251, lines 6-14.

reducing (the heights of) the mountain pass with its silvery streams.⁴⁴

The second song, in its relevant parts, reads—⁴⁵

*‘olgiyan maḍa-mayil-olitta pīlī
vāṇṇōḷ valviṛ-churri nōṇchilai-
yavvār viḷimbīṛk-amaiṇda novviyaṛ-
kanaikural-iṣaikkum viraiṣelaṛ kaḍuṅṅanai
muraṇṇiṁgu vaḍugar munṇuṛa Mōriyar
tenṇiṣai māḍira munṇiya varaviṛku
vinṇurav-ōṅgiya paṇiyirun-kunṇatt-
oṅgadir-ttigiriy-uruliya kuṛaitta
vaṛai*

‘With the Vaḍugar, who excel in fighting, whose powerful bows are covered with the feathers shed by languid-looking and effeminate peacocks and whose strong arrows, capable of causing pain, when fitted to the sharp edges of such strong bows, fly fast with roaring sounds, preceding them, as the Mōriyar advanced on the mountain in the south, the rolling wheels (of their chariots), with bright spokes, reduced (the heights of) the sky-high and cold mountain.’

These two passages make it clear that the Kōśar were the main invaders and that the army of the Mōriyar formed the supporting rear guard. The first passage implies that the Kōśar were aided in their expedition against the defiant chief of Mōgūr by the Mōriyar. Since this song as well as the other one, already referred to, which says that the Kōśar were the inhabitants of the Tuḷu country, were both composed by the poet Māmūlanār, it may be safely concluded that the invading Kōśar, who were aided by the Mōriyas, were the inhabitants of the Tuḷu country. The second passage also refers to the invasion of the South by the Mōriyar but their allies are herein called Vaḍugar. It will be reasonable to assume that the Vaḍugar of Māmūlanār’s

⁴⁴ This and all other translations of Tamil passages quoted in this chapter are free renderings. For an earlier translation, from which I have chosen to differ on certain points, see *History of the Tamils*, p. 520.

⁴⁵ *Agam* 281, lines 4-12.

second passage were the same as the Kōśar of the first passage.⁴⁶ In this connection we may study the passage *mayil-olitta pīli valviṛ-churri* i.e. 'covering their (i.e. the Vaḍugar's) strong bows with feathers shed by peacocks' occurring in the second passage against the same poet's description of Tuḷu-nāḍu as 'a country in whose forests the peacocks peck at the well-grown jack fruits (*pāgal-ārkaḷ paṛaikkat-pīli-ttōgai-kkāviṛ-Ruḷu-nāḍu*).⁴⁷ The reference to peacocks in these passages helps us to conclude that the Kōśar and the Vaḍugar were the inhabitants of the Tuḷu country and, hence, were one and the same.

To make these passages on the Kōśar-Mauryan invasion of Mōgūr fit into the pages of known history is a difficult task. The first passage qualifies the Mōriyar with the adjective *vamba*. *Vambar* means 'vile or insolent persons' or 'quarrelsome men'⁴⁸ and hence, is out of place in a passage which seeks to glorify the Mauryan invasion. *Vamba*, therefore, appears to be a form of *vambalar* meaning 'neighbours, newcomers' or 'guests'.⁴⁸ It has been generally taken to mean 'the newly risen' or 'newly come' Mōriyar and as denoting the imperial Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra.⁴⁹ It is, however, very difficult to believe that the Mauryas indulged in military exploits so far in the south even when their political power was at its nascent stage.

A more apt interpretation of the phrase *vamba-Mōriyar* would be 'the neighbouring Mōriyar'. The coastal region to the north of the Tuḷu country was included in the vast Mauryan

⁴⁶ *Vaḍugar* (Kannāḍa : *Baḍagaru*) means 'the northerners' and is used in Saṅgam literature to denote people who lived to the immediate north of the Tamils i.e. the Kannāḍa, Tuḷu and Telugu people.

⁴⁷ *Agam* 15, lines 4-5. The description of the city of Mangalore as '*mayil-agaru-Maṅgalapuram*' (Maṅgalapuram, where the peacocks dance) in a Pāṇḍyan copper-plate grant of the 8th century, discussed in chapter III below, also shows that the Tamil poets were wont to think of the Tuḷu country in association with peacocks.

⁴⁸ M. Winslow: *Tamil & English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁴⁹ See *A History of South India*, pp. 85 f.

empire and, perhaps, formed part of the Koṅkaṇa⁵⁰ province under the sway of the scions of the imperial Maurya dynasty. This latter surmise is supported by the existence of the Mauryas in the Koṅkaṇ, as a ruling family, down to the sixth century A.D., when they were finally destroyed by Chalukya Kīrttivarman (566/7-598/8 A.D.) of Bādāmi.⁵¹ *Vamba-Mōriyar* may, therefore, refer to the Mauryan rulers of the Koṅkaṇa province who were, geographically, the northern neighbours of the Kōśar of Tuḷu-nāḍu.

The death of Aśōka sounded the death-knell for his empire. Yet, vestiges of the imperial power did survive for over five decades after his death. In the course of the empire-wide

⁵⁰ The territorial definition of ancient Koṅkaṇa is a knotty problem. The plural form *Koṅkaṇē hu*, occurring in the Aihole inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 242, line 10) of Pulakēśin II (609/10-642 A.D.) reminds one of the ancient name *Sapta-Koṅkaṇa*. This term denotes the whole strip of land lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. According to Wilson (See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 47, note) the seven Koṅkaṇs were Kēraḷa, Tuḷuva, Gōvarāśhṭra (i.e. modern Goa), the Koṅkaṇ proper, Karahāṭaka, Barālāṭṭā and Barbara. Gundert (*Malayāḷam Dictionary*, s.v. Koṅgaṇam) gives the following verse —

Kārāṭam cha Virāṭam cha Mārāṭam Koṅkaṇam tathā

Havyagam Taulavam ch=aiva Kēralam ch=ēti saptakam

Fleet (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 282, note 5), who acknowledges the historicity of *Sapta-Koṅkaṇa*, includes the following divisions in its definition — (1) Travancore and Cochin; (2) Malabār; (3) South Kanara; (4) North Kanara; (5) Goa; (6) Ratnagiri; and (7) Kolābā, Thāṇa and Surat. In the verse quoted above Havyaga is the same as Haive, a division made up of the southern parts of the North Kanara Dt. In view of this, Koṅkaṇa proper may be defined so as to have included, besides the southern coastal districts of Mahārāśhṭra, Goa and also the northern parts of the North Kanara district in those ancient times. The southern part of that district, which comes to be called the Haive division in later historical periods, appears to have been under the sway of a family of local chiefs in the early centuries of the Christian era. To this family may have belonged a certain king by the name of Naṇṇaṇ whose history will be dealt with in the pages to come. It will be well to remember that in the eleventh century A.D., Goa and its surrounding regions were known by the name of Koṅkaṇa-900 (Fleet: DKD, p. 566).

⁵¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff.

confusion which must have resulted from the death of Aśoka, the Koṅkaṇa province may have become an independent Maurya kingdom interested in the political developments in the neighbouring kingdoms to its south. It is otherwise difficult to believe that either before or during or after the reign of Aśoka, the Mauryas, with the nucleus of their political power still at Magadha, would have exerted themselves in subduing the chieftain of a principality which does not render itself even to positive identification. I, therefore, hold that the *Vamba-Mōriyar* were the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ who rose to independent political power sometime after the death of Aśoka and continued to rule in the Koṅkaṇ region till their defeat by Kīrttivarman in the sixth century A.D.

From the study of the above passages, it may be concluded that the Mōriyar invaded Mōgūr, not on their own but as the allies of the Kōśar of Tuḷu-nāḍu whose suzerainty the chieftain of Mōgūr appears to have contested. Mōgūr, therefore, may be deemed to have been a tiny principality bordering on Tuḷu-nāḍu. Since the poems refer to the crossing of a mountain-pass by the chariots of the Kōśar and the Mōriyar, Mōgūr was, in all probability, a kingdom on the eastern slopes or at the eastern foot of the Western Ghats i.e. in the north-western extremes of the Tamil country.

The results of the Kōśar-Mōriyar invasion of Mōgūr are nowhere mentioned. But, during what may be discerned as the chronologically subsequent stage in South Indian history, as seen through Saṅgam literature, the Kōśar are found to be the enemies of the king of Tuḷuva and friends of Mōgūr!

This king of Tuḷuva was known by the name of Naṇṇaṇ and figures in quite a few compositions assignable to the Saṅgam age. The poet Māmūlanār, in the same poem⁵² in which

⁵² *Agam* 15. The text, in its relevant parts, reads —

“..... *Tuḷu-nāṭṭ-aṇṇa*

vaṇuṇ-gai vambalart-tāṅgum paṇbiṭ-

cheṇṇinda cheṇich-chemmal.....

chūḷi-yāṇaich-chudarpṇūṇ Naṇṇaṇ”

“Naṇṇaṇ, wearing lustrous ornaments and with his royal elephant, the great king of the country which is renowned for its quality of sustaining its indigent neighbours i.e. the Tuḷu country.”

he associates the Kōśar with Tuḷu-nāḍu, says that Naṇṇaṇ was the 'great king of the country which was firm in its quality of sustaining indigent neighbours. Since we learn from a few other songs⁵³ that the Kōśar assisted a Tamil chieftain in his war against Naṇṇaṇ and that they also fought against him on their own, it may be suggested that Naṇṇaṇ invaded the Tuḷu country, drove the Kōśars out and made it his own. From where did this Naṇṇaṇ come and occupy the Tuḷu country? Pālaipāḍiya Peruṅgaḍuṅḡō, a Saṅgam poet, in one of his songs,⁵⁴ says—

‘*ponpaḍu Koṅkāṇa Naṇṇaṇ nannāṭṭu*
Ēḷi-kunṇam’

‘The Ēḷil hill⁵⁵ of the good country of Naṇṇaṇ, the gold-producing Koṅkāṇa.’

We have already stated the Koṅkāṇa as a territorial entity does not lend itself to easy definition and that, in ancient times, the whole of the West Coast was divided into seven divisions, all of them known by the common name of Koṅkāṇa. It will be seen from what follows that the conquest of Tuḷuva brought Naṇṇaṇ into close contact with the Tamil rulers. Prior to his Tuḷuva occupation, Naṇṇaṇ, therefore, may have been ruling over a small kingdom to the south of the Koṅkāṇa kingdom of the Mauryas and to the north of Tuḷuva i.e. in the southern parts of the North Kanara district roughly corresponding to Havyaga or the Haive division. At any rate, neither was Naṇṇaṇ the ruler of the Mauryan Koṅkāṇa nor did he belong dynastically to the Mauryan stock; or else, the Saṅgam poets would not have ignored these important points. It may be that his frequent wars with the tiny kingdoms to his immediate south and south-east were justified by the fact that the Mauryan power to his north was more formidable and friendly as against the formers.

⁵³ Agam 113, 208; *Kuṇḍogai*: 73, 292.

⁵⁴ *Narṇai*: 391, lines 6-7.

⁵⁵ The Ēḷil hill, also known as Ēḷil-malai and Sapta-śāila, is the Mount D'Ely of the medieval geographers and is about 16 miles to the north of Cannanore in Kerala State.

References to Naṇṇaṇ in Saṅgam literature illustrate his ambitious character and his successful career. After his occupation of Tuḷu-nāḍu, Naṇṇaṇ appears to have turned his attention further to the south. He conquered and annexed Pūḷi-nāḍu, probably a small territory on the west coast adjoining the Tuḷu country, and, as will be seen subsequently, included in the Chēra kingdom. The Ēḷir-kunṇam, which is stated in the passage quoted above to be in the 'good country of Naṇṇaṇ', was, in all probability, situated in this Pūḷi-nāḍu. With the conquest of Tuḷuva and Pūḷi-nāḍu, the road to the ancient Tamil kingdoms lay open before the enterprising Naṇṇaṇ.⁵⁶

Saṅgam poets refer to a number of battles in which Naṇṇaṇ fought against one Tamil king or another. One battle against Paḷaiyaṇ, perhaps a commander of the Chōḷa forces⁵⁷ and ruler of Mōgūr⁵⁸, is described as follows—

*'Naṇṇaṇ Ēṛrai naṟumpūṇ-Atti
tunṇaruṇ-kaḍuntiraṟ-Kaṇkaṇ Kaṭṭi
ponṇaṇi val-viṟ-Puṇṇuraṇi-enṟ-aṅg-
aṇṟ-avar kuḷṭiya vaḷapparuṇ-kattūṟp-
parundupaḍap-paṇṇip-Paḷaiyaṇ paṭṭeṇa'*⁵⁹

"There, on that day (of battle) Paḷaiyaṇ, after making (the battle-field) the grave (for the armies) of Naṇṇaṇ, Ēṛrai, Atti, with perfume applied, Kaṇkaṇ, the zealous fighter,

⁵⁶ Attempts so far made at reducing Saṅgam literature into history have produced, at the hands of various scholars, results which are mutually contradictory. The above narration is the result of my study of Saṅgam literature with reference to the history of Tuḷuva.

⁵⁷ See Sivaraja Pillai: *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, pp. 76 ff.

⁵⁸ The *Maduraikkāṇchi* (lines 507-509) says—

*'maḷaiy-olukk-aṟāḍap-piḷaiya viḷaiyuṭ-
Paḷaiyaṇ Mōgūr-avaiyagam viḷaṅga
nāṇmolik-Kōṣar viḷaṅgiy-aṇṇa'*

"As the four-tongued Kōṣar appeared in the assembly place of Paḷaiyaṇ's Mōgūr, where the crops never fail because the rains never cease." This Paḷaiyaṇ was, perhaps, a descendant of that chief of Mōgūr who had to face the joint Kōṣar-Mōriyar invasion. It is, however, not known if the Kōṣar assisted Paḷaiyaṇ in this battle.

⁵⁹ *Agam* 44, lines 7-11.

Kaṭṭi and the gold-ornamented Puṇṇurai with his strong bow, and after giving them (i.e. the dead) as prey for the hawks, himself was killed (in battle).⁶⁰

This passage thus presents Naṇṇaṇ at the head of a confederacy, the other members of which were probably petty chieftains of the Tamil country. It is not known if Naṇṇaṇ and his allies fought as the defenders or were jointly invading the Chōḷa territory. In view of Paḷaiyaṇ's death in the battle, victory may have rested with Naṇṇaṇ and his allies.

The fact that Naṇṇaṇ could muster the assistance of five Tamil chieftains suggests his immense strength and resources. Naṇṇaṇ also invaded Pullu-nāḍu, which has been identified elsewhere⁶⁰ with the southern portion of the Coimbatore district. Naṇṇaṇ's chief antagonist in this war was one Āy Eyiṇaṇ who, it has been suggested,⁶¹ may have been a subordinate of the then Chōḷa king Veliyaṇ Vēṇmāṇ. The poet Paraṇar gives⁶² a graphic account of this encounter, in which Naṇṇaṇ's triumph was largely due to his general Miñili—

‘..... koḍittērp-
polampūṇ Naṇṇaṇ Pullu-nāḍu kaḍind-eṇa
yāl-iśai maṇugir-Pāḷiy-āṅga-
n-añjal-eṇṇav-Āy-Eyiṇa-
n-igalaḍu kaṇṇi Miñiliy-oḍu tākkit-taṇ-
n-uyir koḍuttanaṇē’

‘On the bejewelled Naṇṇaṇ, with his bannered chariot, invading Pullu-nāḍu, Āy Eyiṇaṇ the fierce, fought at Pāḷi (which was) bewitched by the music of the Yāl, with Miñili, whose virtue was to kill his enemies, and gave up his life.’ Āy Eyiṇaṇ's valiant death at the hands of Miñili is alluded to by the same poet in another⁶³ of his songs—

‘Veliyaṇ Vēṇmāṇ Āy-Eyiṇa-

⁶⁰ *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, p. 78.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78—79. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (*The Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 198), however, says he was the commander-in-chief of the Chēra king.

⁶² *Agam* 396, lines 1-6.

⁶³ *Agam* 208, lines 5-9.

*ṇ-aliyiyal vālḷkaip-Pāḷip-parandalai-
y-iḷaiy-aṇi yāṇaiy-iyarēr Miñiliy-oḍu
naṇpagalurra cheruvir-puṇkūrn-
d-oḷvāṇ mayāṅamar vīḷnd-eṇa'*

'In the battle field at Pāḷi, (which is) by nature liberal in giving away its riches, Āy Eyiṇaṇ, (the subordinate?) of Veliyaṇ Vēṇmāṇ, fought with Miñili, who was like a bejewelled elephant, in the encounter which occurred at midday and, after causing great confusion (in enemy ranks) with his glittering sword, himself fell (in the battle).'

In yet another song⁶⁴ Paraṇar gives the following account of Naṇṇaṇ's war against Pullu-nāḍu —

*'..... Nannan Pāḷi-
y-ūtṭaru-marabiṇ-aṇjuvaru pēyk-
kūtt-edir-kōṇḍa vāy-moḷi Ṇimili
pullir-k-ēmam-āgiya perum-peyar
vellatt-āṇaiy-adigar koṇṇu-van-
d-oḷvāl-amalaiy-āḍiya ṇāḷ'*

'That day when the *adigar* met Ṇimili⁶⁵ with his fearful army of fiends (drawn) from the subjects of the ancient Pāḷi of Naṇṇaṇ they, having killed and taken his celebrated and huge elephant, which had caused bewilderment at Pullu, fought noisily with their glittering swords.'

The first two passages make it clear that though Naṇṇaṇ's invasion was of Pullu-nāḍu, the battle alluded to was fought at Pāḷi. Pāḷi was not in the invaded territory but was an important fort in the kingdom of Naṇṇaṇ himself. Paraṇar says—⁶⁶

*'Nannan-udiyaṇ-arūṅgaḍip-Pāḷit-
toṇmudir vēḷir-ōmbiṇar vaiṭṭa
poṇ*

'The gold kept in the well protected Pāḷi of Naṇṇaṇ-udiyaṇ, under the protection of the *vēḷir* (i.e. petty chieftains) of old and ancient (families).'

⁶⁴ *Agam* 142, lines 9-14.

⁶⁵ Ṇimili is obviously a mistake for Miñili, the name as it occurs in the other two passages quoted.

⁶⁶ *Agam* 258, lines 1-3.

The above passages may, therefore, be interpreted to mean that Naṇṇaṇ raided Pullu-nāḍu and that, as a measure of retaliation, his own kingdom was subjected to invasion. Naṇṇaṇ does not appear to have gained Pullu-nāḍu but, at the same time, he appears to have successfully warded off the retaliatory raids. Of his enemies, Āy Eyiṇaṇ was, perhaps, the chief of Pullu-nāḍu and the Adigar may have been his subjects.

Paraṇar also speaks⁶⁷ of the peacocks dancing joyously in the hill of Pāḷi, situated in the long mountain range of Ēḷil, the country of Naṇṇaṇ whose whizzing javelin pierced through and broke the resistance of his enemy Piṇḍaṇ. We are not told who this Piṇḍaṇ was but, most likely, he was one of the petty chieftains of the Tamil country.

In addition to his high renown as a great warrior, Naṇṇaṇ also gained the ungainly epithet of *pen-kolai-purinda Naṇṇaṇ*, 'Naṇṇaṇ, the woman-killer'. The incident which brought Naṇṇaṇ this ill-fame is narrated⁶⁸ by Paraṇar in the following lines—

*‘maṇṇiya seṇṇav-onṇudal-arivai
punaṇaru paśuṅgāy tinṇadan-ṇappaṇ-
k-onṇbadirṇ-onṇbadu kaḷirṇ-oḍ-avanirai
ponṣei-pāvai koḍuppavun-kollāṇ
penkolai purinda Naṇṇaṇ’*

‘Naṇṇaṇ, who killed a damsel with beautiful eyebrows, who had gone to the river for a bath, for the guilt of having eaten an unripe fruit (which had fallen from a tree in his garden and was) carried away by the currents even though he was offered eightyone male elephants and a statue of her weight in gold (as compensation).’

We also learn that at the end of battles, Naṇṇaṇ as the victor was merciless towards his vanquished foes. Paraṇar says⁶⁹ in this connection, that Naṇṇaṇ, with his javelin held aloft, made many enemy kings, endowed with magnificent horses, flee from

⁶⁷ *Agam* 152, lines 9-14.

⁶⁸ *Kuṇṇudogai*: 292, lines 1-5.

⁶⁹ *Naṇṇinai*: 270, lines 7-10.

the battle-fields and bound their elephants with ropes made out of the hair-locks of the captive women belonging to his vanquished enemies.

We had earlier suggested that Naṇṇaṇ appears to have deprived the Kōśar of their hold on Tuḷu-nāḍu. This naturally earned for him the enmity of these war-like people. Naṇṇaṇ appears to have had a difficult time warding off the retaliatory raids of the Kōśar on his territory. Paraṇar says—⁷⁰

‘..... Naṇṇaṇ
naṇṇu-mā koṇṇu nāṭṭiṇ-pōgiya-
v-onṇu-moḷik-Kōśar’

‘The truthful Kōśar who killed the famed elephant of Naṇṇaṇ and entered his country.’

Naṇṇaṇ, however, appears to have cleared his country of the invading Kōśar for, when he was drawn into his final battle by his Chēra adversary, he was still in possession of his territories.

It has earlier been pointed out that Naṇṇaṇ had taken Pūḷi-nāḍu by his war against the Chēra armies.⁷¹ The Chēra king Kaḷaṅgāyakkanni Nārmuḍich-Chēral met Naṇṇaṇ in a great battle at Vāgai with a view to regaining the lost territory. The poet Kallāḍaṇār describes⁷² the battle and its results in these terms—

‘..... Vāgaip-perunduraich-cheruviṇ-
polambūṇ Naṇṇaṇ porudu kaḷatt-oḷiya
valampaḍu koṇṇan tanda vāyvāṭ-
Kaḷaṅgāyakkanni Nārmuḍich-Chēra-
l-iḷanda nādu tand-aṇṇa’

‘In the battle at the big port-town of Vāgai, the bejewelled Naṇṇaṇ having perished in the battle field, the great victory of the powerful Kaḷaṅgāyakkanni Nārmuḍich-Chēral gave him back his lost nāḍu (i.e. Pūḷi-nāḍu).’

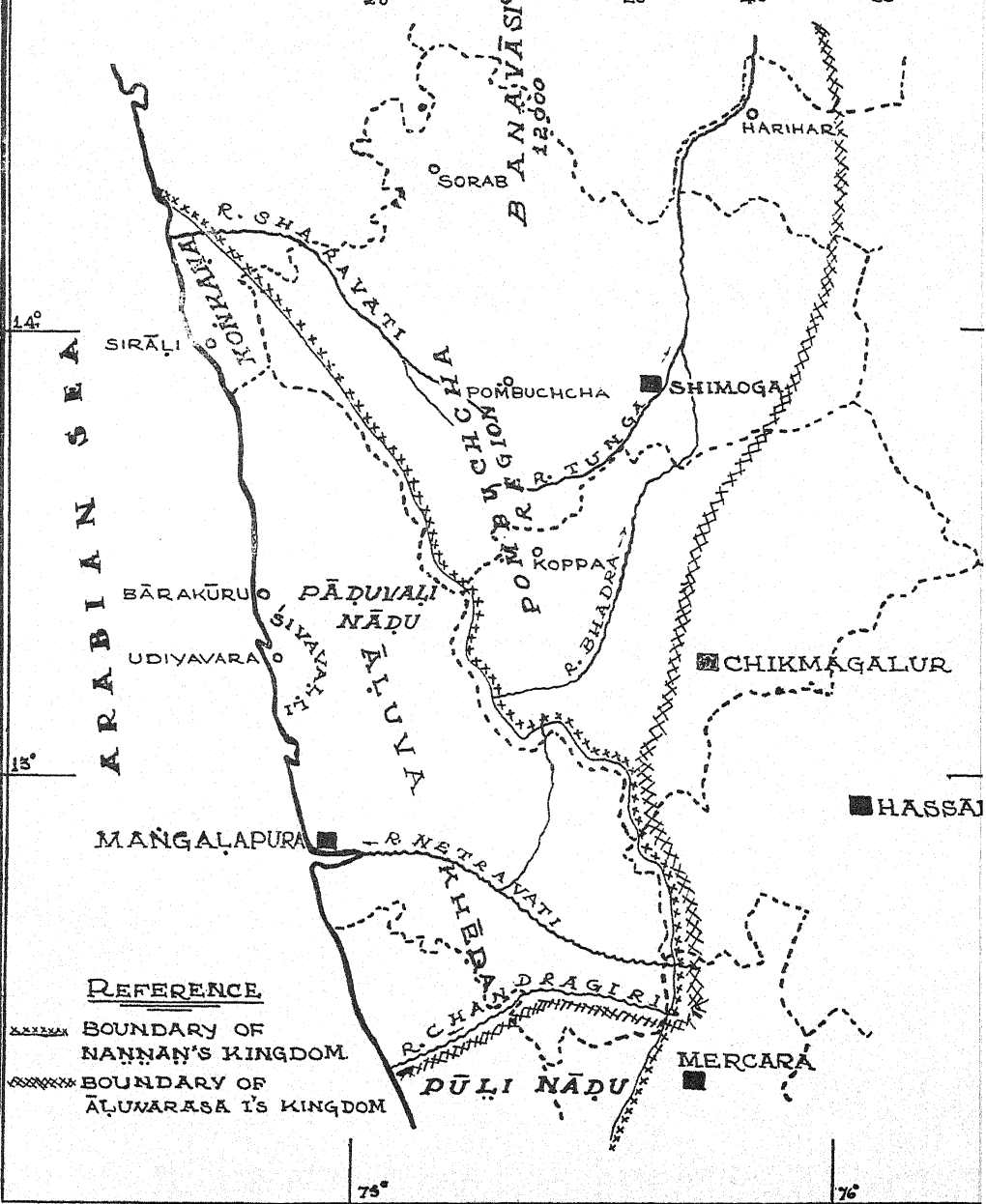
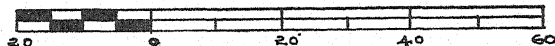
⁷⁰ *Kurundogai*: 73, lines 2-4.

⁷¹ If Āy Eyiṇaṇ’s identification with the Chēra commander-in-chief is accepted, it follows that the battle of Vāgai was not the first major war of the Chēras against Naṇṇaṇ.

⁷² *Agam* 199, lines 19-23.

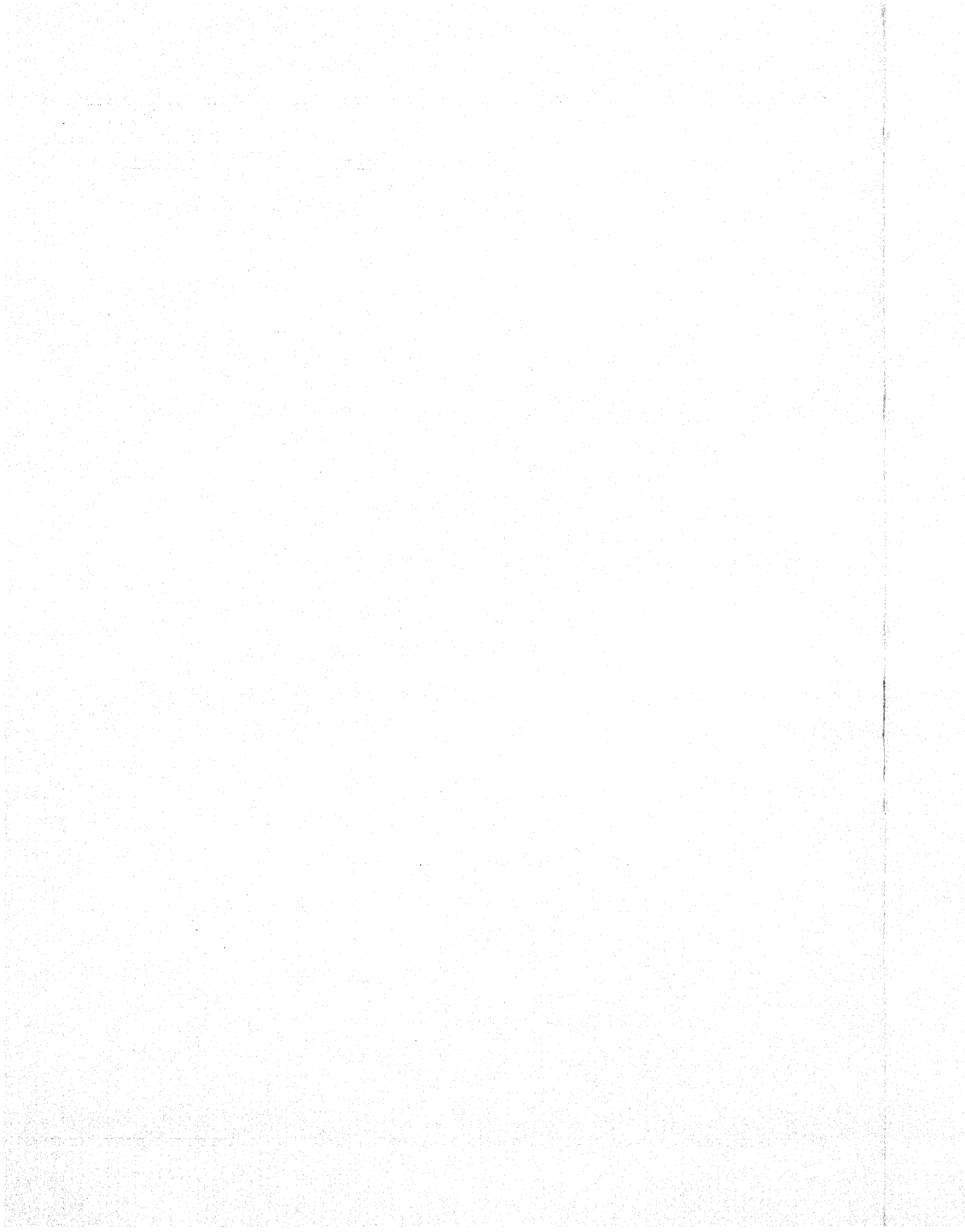
THE KINGDOMS OF NANNAN AND ĀLUVARASA I

SCALE OF MILES



REFERENCE

- BOUNDARY OF NANNAN'S KINGDOM
- BOUNDARY OF ĀLUVARASA I'S KINGDOM



Thus ended the crowded chapter of Naṇṇaṇ's life. From the many references to this valiant ruler in Saṅgam literature we gather that, at the zenith of his power, he was the master of Koṅkaṇa (i.e. the southern parts of the North Kanara District), Tuḷuva (i.e. the district of South Kanara), Pūḷi-nāḍu (perhaps a small coastal tract to the immediate south of Tuḷuva) and even the north-western frontier of the Tamil country.⁷³ He was not merely an ambitious conqueror and an oppressor of his enemies but was munificent in giving away his wealth to the needy.

The date of Naṇṇaṇ is impossible to fix. All that can be ventured at this stage of our knowledge of the early history of South India is that Naṇṇaṇ may have lived and ruled sometime in the first three centuries of the Christian era.⁷⁴

⁷³ Krishnaswami Aiyangar: *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 128.

⁷⁴ Sivaraja Pillai creates two Naṇṇaṇs and assigns Naṇṇaṇ I, the enemy of Paḷaiyaṇ and Piṇḍaṇ and the leader of the confederacy of Ēṇṇai, Atti, Kaṅkaṇ and Kaṭṭi, to the second, and Naṇṇaṇ II, who, according to him, may have been the grandson of Naṇṇaṇ I and who was killed by the Chēra king Nārmuḍich-Chēral, to the fifth generations of Saṅgam literature. According to Pillai, the second and the fifth generations lasted from 25 B.C. to 1 A.D. and from 50 A.D. to 75 A.D. respectively. But, while the historical gleanings that have been gathered from the works of the Saṅgam age are indeed genuine, the historical and chronological sequence that has been created for those points of history by various scholars is not, in the least, directly or indirectly, suggested by the works themselves. Pillai (*ibid.*, pp. 16-17) himself says — “..... the various poems have been collected and arranged on principles of pure literary form and theme by a late redactor This literary arrangement has distorted the chronology of the works in the most lamentable manner imaginable. The whole mass has been thus rendered unfit for immediate historical handling.” In view of this, it is not advisable to assign the numerous kings and chieftains, figuring in the Saṅgam works, to any one of the ten generations and then to assign a period of twenty-five years to each generation starting from 50 B.C., as has been done by Pillai, especially when epigraphical and other historical evidence in support of such hypotheses is completely lacking. When the history of the extreme South becomes clear with the appearance of historical inscriptions in about the sixth century A.D., the Saṅgam age finds no mention indicating thereby that it had by then become old and forgotten. Naṇṇaṇ of Tuḷu-nāḍu is found completely ignored in the local legends of

The end of the brilliant career of Naṇṇaṇ leaves Tuḷuva once again in historical darkness until we move down to the fifth century A.D., when we again come across an evidence of uncertain nature in the Halmiḍi Kannaḍa inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusha (c. 430-450 A.D.). In between the death of Naṇṇaṇ and the rise of the early Kadambas, Tuḷuva may have remained in the possession of Naṇṇaṇ's unknown successors or may have become independent.

Before entering into a discussion on the Halmiḍi inscription and its relevance to the history of South Kanara, we may pause to examine two points which may have a bearing on Tuḷuva history.

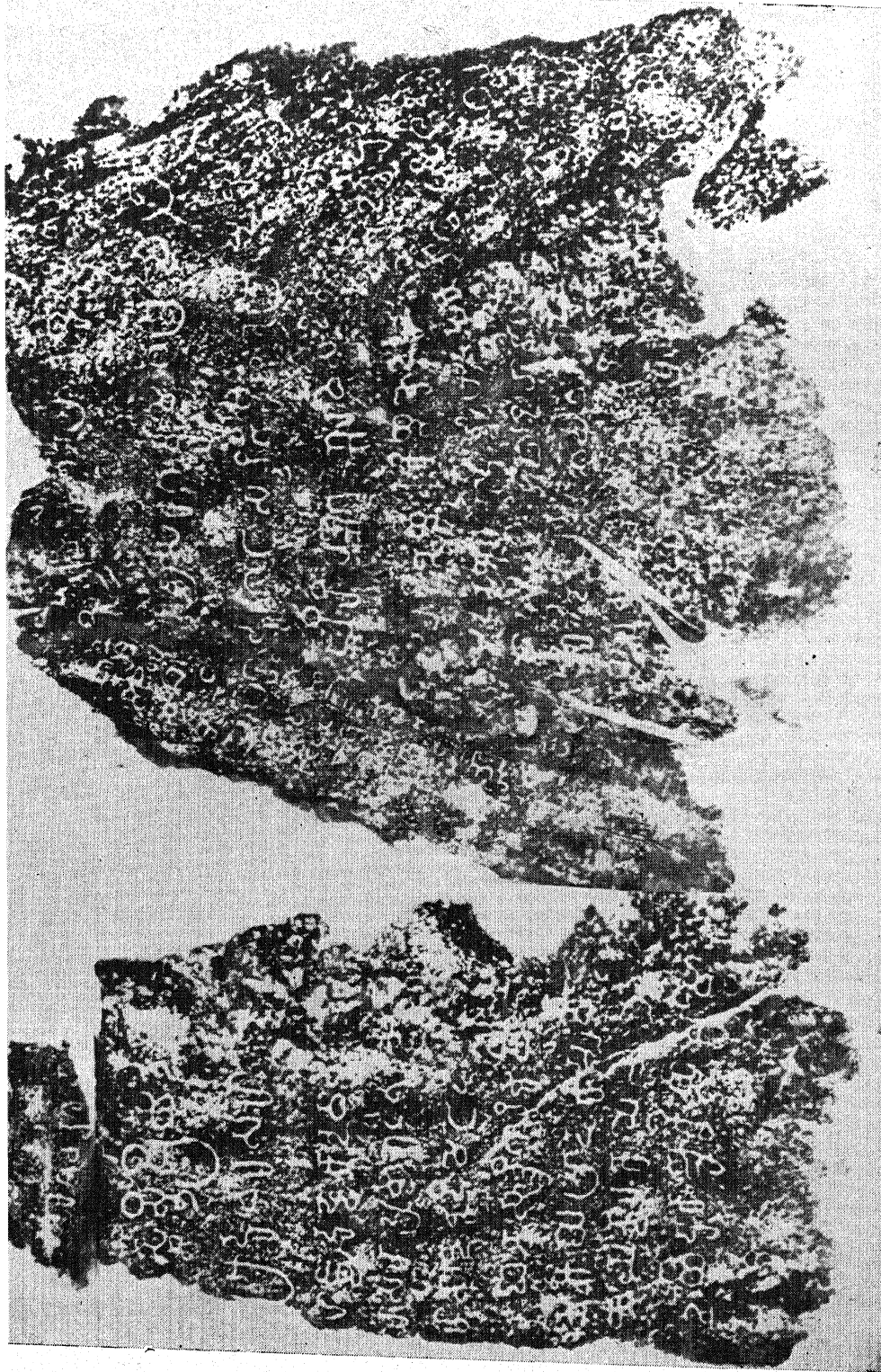
Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of about the middle of the second century A.D., mentions, among the inland towns of the pirates, Olokhoira.⁷⁵ *Khoira* being equal to *khēḍa*, it has been suggested elsewhere⁷⁶ that Ptolemy's Olokhoira is to be identified with Āḷvakhēḍa, which is one of the names given to South Kanara district in historical times. The earliest epigraphical reference to this region as Āḷvakhēḍa occurs in an inscription⁷⁷ of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Prabhūtarsha Gōvinda III (A.D. 792-814) from Māvaḷi, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga district, Mysore State, wherein it is referred to as a six thousand division. If this identification of Ptolemy's O'okhoira with Āḷvakhēḍa is accepted, and the identification is no doubt convincing, it becomes a matter of interest that Āḷva=Āḷuva=Āḷupa as the name of a country or a people or a dynasty existed even as early as the middle of the second century A.D.

Tuḷuva itself like the *Sahyāḍri-kāṇḍa* and the *Grāmaṣaddhati* which commence their incoherent historical accounts of the region from the rise of the early Kadambas in the fourth century A.D. In view of all these facts I have confined myself to the uncommitting statement that Naṇṇaṇ, like all the other kings and chieftains who figure in the Tamil works of the Saṅgam age, appears to have lived and ruled sometime in the first three centuries of the Christian era.

⁷⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 367.

⁷⁶ Lewis Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions*, p. 137; Saletore: *History of Tuḷuva*, p. 56.

⁷⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.



VADDARSE INSCRIPTION OF ĀLUVARASA I

The records of the Sātavāhanas, who succeeded to the south-western possessions of the Mauryan empire, do not make any direct references to Tuḷuva. In the Nasik cave inscription⁷⁸ of their most powerful monarch Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who held sway over an extensive empire in the first quarter of the second century A.D., a claim is made in a conventional rather than historical vein, that he ruled over even the Sahya and Malaya mountains. It is, however, not known if Sahya in this instance was meant to include the Tuḷu country too.

The middle of the fourth century A.D. saw the advent of Mayūraśarma as the ruler of the Kadambamaṇḍala. Not much historical evidence has come down to us which categorically proves that the Tuḷu country was, at any time during the existence of the early Kadambas as a ruling power, from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century A.D., under Kadamba suzerainty. Though the Chandravallī Prākṛit inscription⁷⁹ of Mayūraśarma does not include the Tuḷu country in the long list of his conquests, local traditions of the Brahmins and the Jains of South Kanara assert that Mayūraśarma was one of the earliest rulers of Tuḷuva. Buchanan, who has recorded this tradition,⁸⁰ quotes the Jains as holding that Mayūraśarma lived at Bārakūru and governed all Tuḷuva without any superior. Though the dates given by these traditional accounts for this Kadamba ruler as well as for other kings whom they remember are no more historical than the creation of the western coastal tract by Paraśurāma, Mayūraśarma's association with Tuḷuva as its ruler may be considered a historical fact. The possible connection between the Kadambas and Āḷupas, indicated in the Halmiḍi inscription⁸¹, lends support to this suggestion. The silence of the Chandravallī inscription in this regard may be either because the conquest of Tuḷuva was not considered to be as important an achievement as the other

⁷⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60, line 2.

⁷⁹ *ARMAD.*, 1929, p. 50.

⁸⁰ *A Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. III, pp. 31, 82, and 98.

⁸¹ *ARMAD.*, 1936, pp. 72 ff. and plate.

ones or because Tuḷuva was conquered at a date subsequent to the writing of the inscription itself. The claim that Mayūraśarma lived at and ruled from Bārakūru may merely mean that his representative in Tuḷuva had his headquarters at that port-city.

The claim which a later tradition, as narrated, for instance, in a Tālagunda inscription⁸² of Hoysaḷa Vira Ballāḷa II (1173-1220 A.D.), makes for the mythological hero Mukkaṇṇa or Trilōchana Kadamba that he induced thirtytwo Brāhmaṇa families from Ahichchhatra-agrahāra in the north to move down to the south and established them in the great *agrahāra* of Sthāṇugūḍha (i.e. modern Tālagunda, the find-spot of the inscription) is made for Mayūraśarma himself with reference to Tuḷuva in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* which says⁸³

*Mayūra-nāmā nripatir-Hēmāṅgada*⁸⁴*kumārakah
Ahikshētra-sthitān viprān=āgatān dvija-puṅgavān
sa-putra-pautra-sahitān saṃpūjya vividhān=nripaḥ
prasādayitvā tān viprān dhana-satkāra-bhōjanaiḥ
agrahārān=chakār=āsau dvātriṃśad-grāma-bhēdataḥ
tatra tatra dvija-varān sthāpayāmāsa bhūpatih*

These stanzas proclaim that Mayūra, son of Hēmāṅgada, worshipped the many Brāhmaṇas who had come from Ahikshētra with their sons and grandsons, and after pleasing them with gifts of wealth etc., created thirtytwo *agrahāras* in as many villages and settled them. The *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* continues to say that in course of time Mayūraśarma, seeing the whole world in the grip of Kali, placed his kingdom in the care of his ministers and went away for doing *tapas* after nominating his infant son Chandrāṅgada as his successor. The import of the Brāhmaṇas into the south from Ahichchhatra, Hēmāṅgada and Chandrāṅgada

⁸² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Sk. 186.

⁸³ *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa* (ed. by J. Gerson Da Cunha, Bombay, 1877), Chapter 8, verses 2-4.

⁸⁴ Hēmāṅgada does not appear in any historical document and hence is obviously a fictitious name. Lewis Rice (*Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions*, p. 25) makes one Chandravarma II the father of Mayūraśarma. Neither does this name deserve to be considered as historical.

being the father and son respectively of Mayūrśarma and the Kadamba monarch's abdication of his hard-earned throne are all points which stand unsupported by early historical evidence, and, therefore, deserve to be dismissed as concoctions of a later period. The association of Mayūraśarma with Tuḷuva may at best be extended to mean that he and the other historical personages who succeeded him in the early Kadamba line were, to an unknown extent, masters of the Tuḷu country.

It is in this context that the Halmiḍi Kannaḍa inscription⁸⁵ of Kākusthavarma (430-450 A.D.), the great-grandson of Mayūraśarma, gains in importance for, if the interpretation of its contents as made by the Mysore Archaeological Department is to be accepted, it becomes apparent that the king of the Aḷapagaṇa=Aḷupas, Paśupati by name, was a feudatory of the Kadamba king. The find-spot of the inscription, Halmiḍi, is a village about seven miles north-north-west of Bēlūr, close to the boundary line of the Belur and Chikmagalur Taluks, the western boundaries of both of which run in common with a part of the eastern boundary of the South Kanara district

The contents, in brief, of the Halmiḍi record, which is incidentally the earliest Kannaḍa inscription so far discovered, are as follows; During the reign of king Kākustha, Mṛigēśa and Nāga, (the governors ?) of Naridāviḷe-nāḍu, made a grant for military service, of the villages Palmaḍi and Mūḷivaḷḷi, to Vija Arasa of Saḷbaṅga, the beloved son of Ella Bhaṭari who, in the presence of the heroic men of the Sēndraka and Bāṇa countries, fought the Kēkayas and Pallavas, pierced them and (thus) raced to victory at the word of Paśupati, who was like a Paśupati to the Aḷapa-gaṇa, who was the moon to the spotless firmament called Bhaṭari-kula and who was full of heroism and action in slaying his enemies in their hundreds in the many battle-fields of Dakṣiṇāpatha.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ ARMAD., 1936, pp. 72 ff. and plate.

⁸⁶ This is a summary of the contents of the record as given in the pages of the *Annual Report* referred to above. The inscription is much worn out and not all the readings given in the *Annual Report* (p. 78) are convincing, especially in the case of the first few and the last few lines. Any improvements in the

It has been suggested⁸⁷ that Aḷapa is the same as Āḷupa, the name of the dynasty which ruled over the greater part of South Kanara at least from the middle of the seventh century, and that Paśupati, the chief of the Aḷapa-gaṇa, was the then ruler of the country of the Āḷupas. As a dynastic name it occurs most often as Āḷupa, sometimes as Āḷuva and twice, in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription⁸⁸ of Maṅgalēśa and the Māruṭūru grant of the 7th century⁸⁹, as Āḷuka. But in the Halmiḍi inscription we find the two most persistent vowels in the dynastic name, initial *ā* and medial *u* both changed to *a*. This, however, should not be a serious impediment to the equation of Aḷapa to Āḷupa because the very etymology of the term Āḷupa is still a matter of controversy.

The Halmiḍi record eulogises Paśupati as *Bhaṭari-kul=āmalā-vyḍma-tār=ādhināthan* i.e. the moon in the spotless firmament of the Bhaṭari-kula. This epithet would make Paśupati a member of the Bhaṭari family, a name which is not applied to the Āḷupas by any other source. If Paśupati is to be accepted as an Āḷupa king, it will have to be conceded that, by the time the Āḷupas again enter into historical limelight in the middle of the seventh century, their connection with the Bhaṭari-kula had come to be forgotten.

Ella-Bhaṭari and his son Vija Arasa were probably related in some way to Paśupati as is evidenced by the term Bhaṭari appended to the father's name. Vija Arasa is described in the record as belonging to Saḷbaṅga which has been identified⁹⁰ with a village of that name situated to the north of Shimoga. It will be shown in the next chapter that parts of the Shimoga district fell within the territorial possessions of the early Āḷupas. The association of Vija Arasa with Saḷbaṅga and the association

readings, however, are unlikely to change the contents, as given in the *Report*, to any considerable degree.

⁸⁷ *ARMAD.*, 1936, p. 79.

⁸⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17, line 7.

⁸⁹ *Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series*, No. 6.

⁹⁰ *ARMAD.*, 1936, p. 81.

of Paśupati, the chief of Aḷapa-gaṇa, with the Bhaṭari-kula thus lend support to some extent for the equation of Aḷapa to Āḷapa.

The Sēndraka country probably included the western part of the Shimoga district and also portions of North Kanara⁹¹ and was thus adjacent to South Kanara. Naridāviḷe-nāḍu and the other places mentioned in the inscription, namely Palmaḍi (s.a. Halmiḍi, the find-spot of the inscription), Mūḷivalli, etc. were all situated in the Hassan district which neighbours on the district of South Kanara. It will be shown in the next chapter that the early Āḷupas, i.e., Āḷuvarasa I and his immediate successors, occupied positions of importance outside the Tuḷuva under the imperial houses of Vātāpi and Mānyakhēṭa even as Paśupati did under the Kadambas of Banavāsi. The geographical proximity of the place-names to South Kanara and the historical analogy of the careers of Paśupati and the early Āḷupas further strengthen the identification of Paśupati as an Āḷapa ruler.

It may, however, be argued that the name Paśupati is not found given to any other Āḷapa king in the long history of that dynasty. This objection is effectively countered by the fact that names such as Raṇasāgara, Chitravāhana and Prithivī-sāgara, borne by some of the early Āḷapa rulers, do not at all repeat themselves in the later history of this dynasty.

The religion of the early Āḷupas was Śaivism and their inscriptions clearly show that the early rulers did much to maintain and improve the Śaṁbhukallu temple of Sōmēśvara in their capital Udayapura. In this light also, Paśupati as the name of an Āḷapa ruler sounds convincing.

An inscription⁹² in Sanskrit, palaeographically assignable to the period of Kadamba Kākusthavarma, from Tālagunda itself, speaks of a Paśupati, his gifts and his prowess in battles in the South. This inscription also refers to one Kākustha, an ornament to the Bhaṭāri-vamśa, as the son of Lakshmī, a Kadamba princess. Since the inscription is fragmentary, it is not possible to state definitely the relationship that subsisted

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 33 and plate.

between Paśupati on the one hand and Kākustha-Bhaṭāri and his mother Lakshmī on the other. From the sequence of occurrence of the names in the available text of the inscription it may, however, be suggested that Paśupati, in all probability, was the husband of Lakshmī and father of Kākustha. The provenance and palaeography of the inscription as well as the reference to the Bhaṭāri-varṇśa render the identification⁹³ of Paśupati of this record with his namesake in the Halmiḍi inscription a great possibility.

Another inscription⁹⁴ from Tālagunda, of the time of Kākusthavarma and his son Śāntivarma, states that the former caused the expansion of the royal families of the Guptas and others by means of his daughters. In view of this, it has been suggested⁹⁵ that Paśupati was one of the rulers to whom Kākusthavarma gave away one of his daughters, Lakshmī, in marriage. If this view is accepted, it will not be the only instance of a feudatory Āḷupa ruler contracting matrimonial alliance with the house of his suzerain for, as is revealed by the Shiggaon plates⁹⁶ of Chalukya Vijayāditya (696-733/34 A.D.), the queen of Chitravāhana I, an early Āḷupa king, was Kumkumadēvi, the sister of the emperor Vijayāditya.

Thus, if Paśupati is taken for an Āḷupa king, the Tālagunda inscription would give us the name of his son, and, perhaps, successor Kākustha-Bhaṭāri. The Tālagunda record eulogises Kākustha-Bhaṭāri in glowing terms. He was the receiver of blessings from brāhmaṇas who had been liberally rewarded by him in numerous sacrifices; he became the leader of ten *maṇḍalikas* with control over the customs duties and also the chief among the wise (*daśa-maṇḍalikēshu nāyakatvaṁ saha śūlkēna cha*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1936, p. 78.

⁹⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 33, (line 12) and 36, verse 31. The editor ascribes this important record to the reign of Kākusthavarman. For a paper which proves this inscription to have belonged to the times of Kākusthavarman as well as his son Śāntivarman, see *Journal of Indian History* (Trivandrum), Vol. XXVII, pp. 161 ff.

⁹⁵ *ARMAD.*, 1936, p. 78.

⁹⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff. and plates.

bādhinam = *avāpya*). This inscription further states that Kākustha-Bhaṭāri pleased his master (*svāmin*), the king (*kshitiṇa*), by his modesty and also by the additions he made to the royal treasury. The king who is thus referred to as the master of Kākustha-Bhaṭāri undoubtedly belonged to the Kadamba house and was either Kākusthavarma himself or his immediate successor Śāntivarma (450-475 A.D.).

In the second half of the sixth century, Kadamba supremacy in the Deccan was irretrievably broken by the might of the Bādāmi Chalukya ruler Kīrttivarman I (566/7-597/8 A.D.). From then onwards, though the Kadambas continued their lingering existence till the middle of the seventh century, they had become feudatories of the Chalukyas and were shorn of all their imperial possessions.⁹⁷

We do not know for how long Kadamba rule over the Tuḷu country, established by Mayūraśarma and spoken of in the *Sahyādri-kāṇḍa*, and maintained by Kākusthavarma as suggested by our understanding of the Halmiḍi and Tālagunda inscriptions, continued after the reign of the latter Kadamba king. We do know this much that the Māhākūṭa pillar inscription⁹⁸ of Maṅga-lēśa, while claiming that Kīrttivarman conquered Vaijayantī (i.e. Banavāsi, the capital city of the Kadambas), also claims that he subdued the Āḷuka (i.e. the Āḷupa king of South Kanara), implying that Tuḷuva was at that time under the sway of the Āḷupas. This takes us to the next chapter which deals with the history of the Early Āḷupas.

Before turning our attention to the early Āḷupas it may be well to assemble hereunder the few names which have been shown above to be associated with the Tuḷu country.

Saṅgam Age (First three centuries of the Christian era):

Kōśar (a tribe which inhabited the Tuḷu country)

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⁹⁷ *A History of South India*, II edn., p. 107.

⁹⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17, line 7.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EARLY ĀḲUPAS

The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, of the Bādāmi Chalukya king Maṅgaḷēśa (597/8-609/10 A.D.), dated in 602 A.D., states that his predecessor and elder brother Puru-Raṇaparākrama (*i.e.* Kīrtti-varman I who ruled from 566/7 A.D. to 597/8 A.D.) conquered, besides many other countries, ĀḲuka and Vaijayantī. In the course of editing this important record, Fleet observed¹ that ĀḲuka 'may possibly denote the Nāgas, who in early times were powerful in the more western parts of the country that became included in the Chalukya dominions.' Fleet based his interpretation on the fact that ĀḲuka occurs as an epithet of Śēśha, the chief of the serpent race. Elsewhere² he even went so far as to suggest the possible identity of ĀḲuka with the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division which, as early as in the Baḷagāmve inscription³ of Chalukya Vinayāditya (681-696 A.D.) occurs in its Prākṛit form as Nāyarkhaṇḍa and formed a part of the Banavāsi province. These suggestions of Fleet are not acceptable for more than one reason. Firstly, it will have to be explained why, in a list which gives the most widely used names of all the other countries conquered by Kīrtti-varman, the little used epithet of Śēśha, ĀḲuka, is employed to denote a country of the Nāgas and, among them, the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division, which only formed a part of the Banavāsi province, was in the possession of the early Kadambas and must have naturally fallen to the Chalukyas at the time of Kīrtti-varman's invasion of the Kadamba kingdom which is referred to in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription as Vaijayantī (*i.e.* Banavāsi, the capital city of the Kadambas) and in the Aihole inscription

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 14-15.

² *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 281, note 3.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 144-45.

of Pulakēśin II, by the name Kadamba itself. Secondly, records hailing from the Nāgarakhaṇḍa region itself do not choose to associate the name of that territory with the epithet of Āḷuka.

Saletore rightly identified⁴ the Āḷuka of the inscription with the Āḷupa kingdom and rulers of South Kanara. For doing so, however, he borrowed Fleet's equation of the Āḷuka to the Nāgas and, necessarily therefore, went to some length to prove that the Āḷupas were of Nāga origin. He says⁵— "The Nāga origin of the Āḷupas is proved by two facts—the figure of a hooded serpent which is found in an effaced Āḷupa stone inscription in the Gollara Gaṇapati temple at Mangalore, and the ultra-Śaivite tendencies of which the Āḷupas have given abundant proof in their inscriptions". The Āḷupa inscription⁶ referred to by Saletore is dated in the early years of the fourteenth century and should not be utilised to fix the nature of the origin of a family whose records start appearing at least from the middle of the seventh century A.D. Again a perusal of the chapter on Tuḷuva Śaivism by Saletore himself clearly shows that the Āḷupas were, by religion, Śaivites but not ultra-Śaivites.

On the other hand, what helps us to identify Āḷuka with Āḷupa is its mention side by side with Vaijayantī. Geographically the kingdoms of the Kadambas and Āḷupas were contiguous territories. They were, therefore, mentioned one after the other in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription as they should be. The name Āḷupa has many variations. The earliest occurrence of the name as Āḷupa, which is obviously a sanskritised form, is met with in the famous Aihole inscription⁷ of Pulakēśin II. It has already been pointed out that Aḷapa of the Halmiḍi inscription may stand for Āḷupa. In certain recensions of the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāmana purāṇas*, the name of a country, people or dynasty is given, respectively, as *Ālika* and

⁴ *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuḷuva*, p. 60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1901, No. 17.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6, text, line 7.

Ālaka. These names have been rightly identified⁸ with Ālupa. An early and perhaps more exact mention of the name as *Āluva* occurs in the undated Vaḍḍarse inscription⁹ of Āluvarasa which, on palaeographical grounds, belongs to the middle of the seventh century A.D. This form of the name appears to be more exact because we find it given in the record as the proper name of the king himself. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the *Padma-purāṇa* mentions¹⁰ the name of a people or country as *Ālava*. A variant of the form *Āluva* is *Ālva* as is found, for instance, in the name of the king Māramm-Ālvarasar.¹¹ In a similar manner, *Ālupa* is sometimes written as *Ālpa*, especially in the formation of the compound form *Ālp=ēndra*.¹² Among all these variants, the form *Āluva*, by virtue of its occurrence in the earliest available inscription from South Kanara itself, is fit to be taken as the original and the most exact as against the rest. The other variants appear to have resulted from attempts at sanskritising what was originally of Dravidian origin, namely Āluva. This takes us to the etymology of the dynastic name Āluva, Ālva, Āluka, Ālupa etc.

With reference to the name Ālupa, R. G. Bhandarkar observed¹³—"The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar Coast." Hultzsch rightly rejected this view when he said¹⁴—"This is very improbable, because Āluvāy (Alwe) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are found in South Canara, Kaḍūr, and Shimoga." In the same breath, Hultzsch offered what even to-day appears to be the best explanation for the name *Āluva*=*Ālupa* in these words—"The original

⁸ D. C. Sircar: *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 31 and note 2.

⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, App. B, No. 296.

¹⁰ *Padma-purāṇa*, Vol. I, Chapter VI, verse 55.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 22 and plate.

¹² To quote only two instances, *SII.*, Vol. IX, part I, Nos. 395 and 396.

¹³ See *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 183, note 3.

¹⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 15-16. Travancore in Hultzsch's statement stands for the erstwhile native state of Travancore.

meaning of the word Āḷupa or Āḷuva is probably 'a ruler', from the Dravidian root *āl* 'to rule'."

As to how this name came to be applied to the dynasty, we get no clues from the inscriptions themselves. The fact that at least four Āḷupa kings had Āḷuvarasa as their proper name¹⁵ seems to suggest the possibility of its having been the name of the originator of this family whose existence and career history has failed to record. In this regard the famous Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara is an instance at hand. It may also be that *Āḷuva* represented the political status of the family at earlier periods. The parent Dravidian root, on which the name Āḷuva has been built, is *āl* which becomes *ālu* in Kannaḍa by the addition of the characteristic euphonic vowel to the base. Kittel gives¹⁶ the following meanings for *āl*=*ālu*: a servant, a soldier; a messenger; to possess, to govern, to rule; manliness, bravery. The last two of the meanings given, being qualities in men, support the possibility of Āḷuva having been the proper name of the family's originator. The rest speak of status and office. It may well be remembered in this context that the famous Pratihāra dynasty of North India is known to have derived its name from the fact that earlier members of that family served as imperial door-keepers.¹⁷ Any final conclusion on the exact etymology of the name Āḷuva=Āḷupa, as applied to the dynasty of South Kanara, will not, however, be possible in the absence of concrete epigraphical evidence.

To go back to the political history of the Āḷupas in the last quarter of the sixth century, we have seen that, according to the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, Kīrtti-varman conquered Āḷuka and Vaijyanti *i.e.* the Āḷupa kingdom and the Kadamba country. Whereas according to local traditions and the Halmiḍi inscription, the Tuḷu country was under Kadamba Mayūravarma and his grandson Kākusthavarma respectively, the Mahākūṭa inscription, by its separate mention of Āḷuka and Vaijyanti, implies

¹⁵ See the Succession Table at the end of this chapter.

¹⁶ *A Kannaḍa-English Dictionary* (Mangalore, 1894), qv. *Āl*.

¹⁷ Rayachaudhari: *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 631, footnote 3.



that the Ālupas had by then become independent of the Kadamba power. No other source mentions the nature of relationship that existed between Kīrttivarman and the Tuḷu country nor do we know the name of his Ālupa contemporary.

Saletore, however, has suggested,¹⁸ on a mistaken premise, that the Ālupa contemporary of Kīrttivarman was Māramma Ālvarasar. The mistaken premise is that the Udiyāvāra inscription¹⁹ of this Māramma Ālvarasa is, from the language point of study, as old as about 575 A.D. It will be shown below that this Udiyāvāra inscription and two more records²⁰ of the same reign belong, on sound palaeographical grounds, not to about 575 A.D., but to the middle of the ninth century.

Subsequent history of the Chalukyas and the Ālupas shows that the conquest of the Tuḷu country by Kīrttivarman was not in the form of a mere raid but resulted in the subordination of the Ālupa rulers to the imperial power at Bādāmi. Though this Chalukya supremacy is not directly referred to for the reign of Kīrttivarman's successor Maṅgaḷēśa, the recording of the former's conquest in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the latter king clearly shows that the Ālupas continued their allegiance even in the subsequent reign.

The next reference to the Ālupas as the feudatories of the Bādāmi Chalukyas is to be found in the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēsin II (609/10—642 A.D.). The nineteenth verse of this inscription reads²¹—

*Gaṅg-Ālupēndrā vyasanāni sapta
hitvā pur=opārjjita-sampadō=pi
yasy=ānubhāv-ōpanatās=sad=āsann=
āsanna-sēvāmṛita-pāna-śaunḍāḥ*

¹⁸ *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuḷuva*, pp. 79 ff.

¹⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 283. Saletore's silence on the palaeography of the inscription in question leads us to believe that he had no opportunity to examine the writing either *in situ* or through estampages.

²⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 22-23, Nos. VII and VIII and plates.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 5-6.

‘Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Gaṅga and Ālupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.’²²

Though Saletore’s observations on this verse are vague, he seems to suggest that the Ālupas raised the banner of revolt against Maṅgaḷēśa who was elsewhere preoccupied and that they had to be conquered afresh by Pulakēśin II.²³ This conclusion, however, is not warranted by the import of the above stanza. The actual implication of the claim that the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas ‘were *always* intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him’ appears to be that Pulakēśin’s greatness and great prowess were enough to ensure the continued allegiance of the two royal houses. The claim made in the Harihar plates²⁴ of Vinayāditya the grandson of Pulakēśin II, that the Ālupas were hereditary subordinates of the Chalukyas lends support to our view that Kīrttivarman’s conquest of the Tuḷu country resulted in prolonged subjugation of its ruling house.

We may discuss here the problem of assigning the Māruṭūru copper-plate grant²⁵ of the 8th year of a Satyāśraya-Prithvivallabha. Engraved in 7th century Telugu-Kannaḍa characters, the record, in corrupt Sanskrit, is of importance to early Ālupa history. It records the grant of the village Māruṭūru to a number of *brāhmaṇas* by the emperor for the *saṅkalpa-siddhi* of the preceptor of his chief queen Kadamba-mahādēvī and for the eternal merit of Āluka-mahārāja who had gone all the way from Maṅgalapura to take upon himself the overlordship of Kallūru at the behest of the emperor.

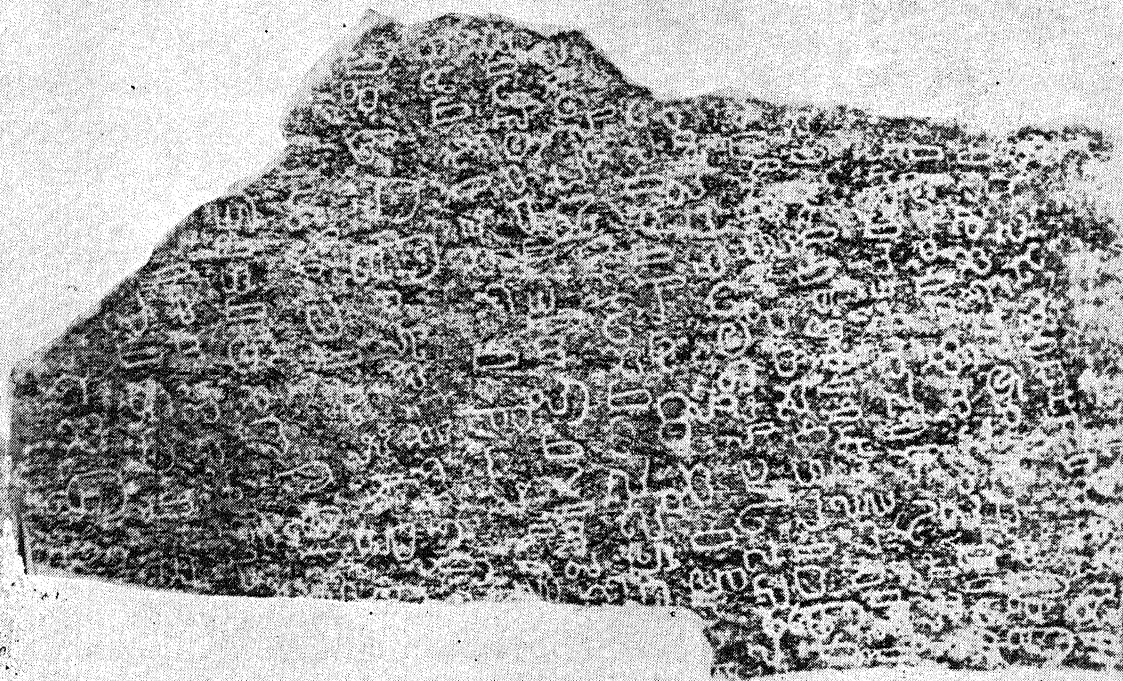
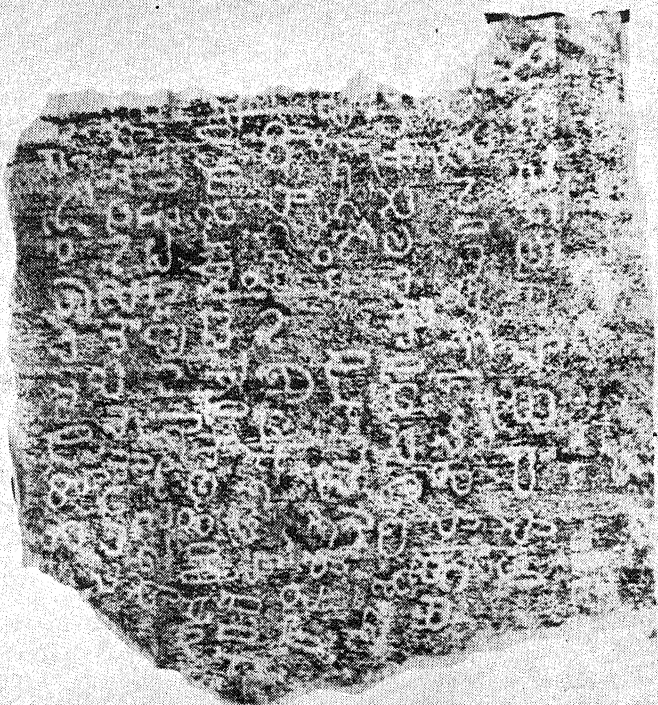
For purposes of assigning this grant, the editor of the above

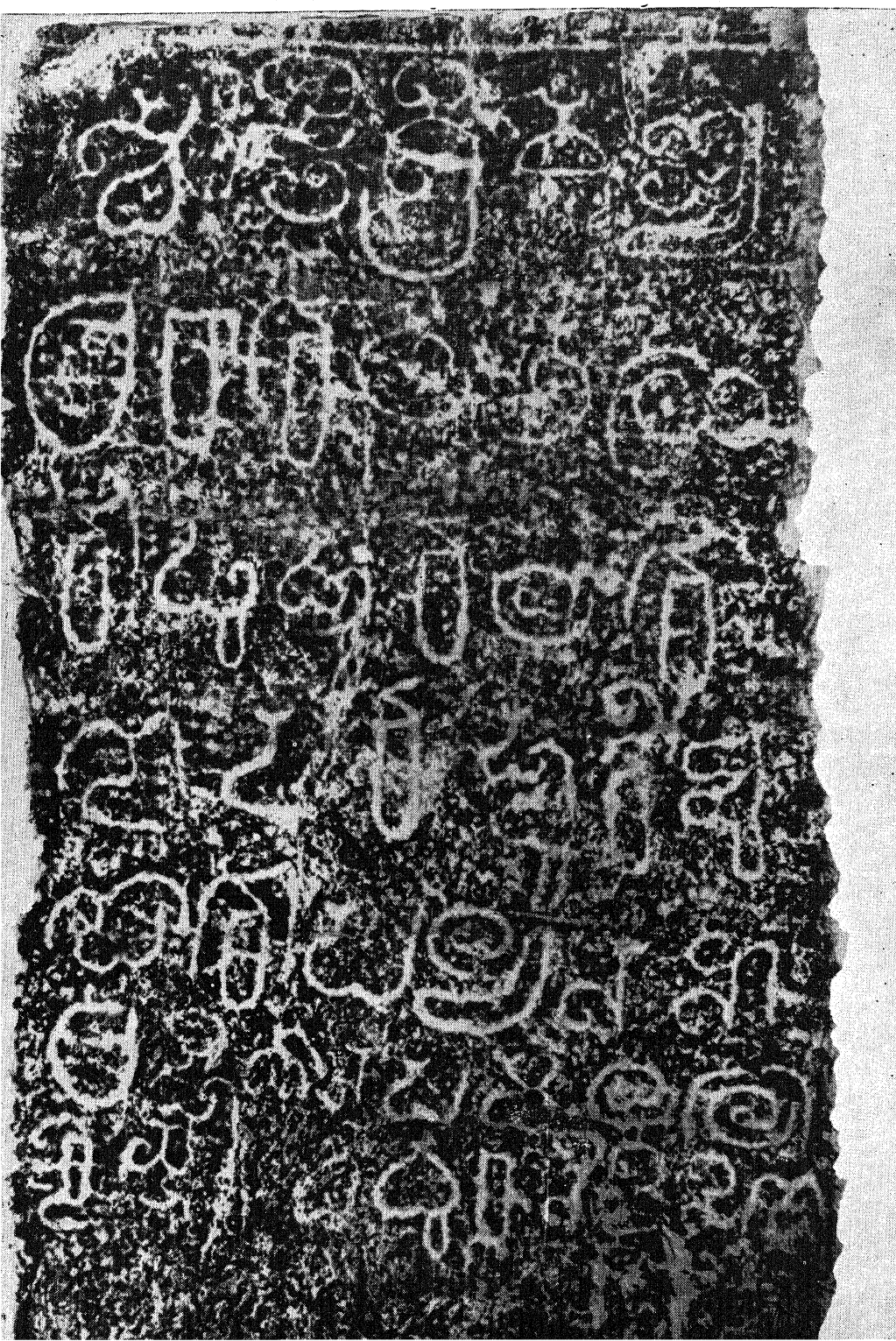
²² *Ibid.*, p. 10. The translation is by F. Kielhorn, the editor of the inscription.

²³ *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva*, pp. 201-202.

²⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 92-93.

²⁵ *Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series*, No. 6, pp. 11-39 and plates.





record took into consideration²⁶ only the reigns of Maṅgaḷēśa and Pulakēśin II and concluded, on the strength of the reference in the grant to the seizure of Piṣṭapura by Satyāśraya-Prithvīvallabha, an achievement ascribed to Pulakēśin II in his Aihole inscription²⁷, that the Māruṭūru grant belongs to the reign of Pulakēśin II only. Accordingly, he equated the details of date given in the record, *viz.*, year 8, Jyēshṭha Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, to A.D. 616, May 21, on which day there was a solar eclipse. A.D. 616 was not, however, the 8th year of the reign of Pulakēśin II who is known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 609/10. The long discussion into which the editor enters in order to remove this discrepancy is not convincing. Moreover, Pulakēśin II is taken to have reduced Piṣṭapura only shortly before A.D. 630-31, the date of his Koppāram plates.²⁸ Also, the earliest direct reference to his conquest of Piṣṭapura occurs only in his Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35.

On the other hand, the details of the above date given in the Māruṭūru grant, if referred to the reign of Pulakēśin II's son and successor Vikramāditya I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 654-55, regularly correspond to A.D. 663, May 12.²⁹ The reference to the capture of Piṣṭapura by Prithvīvallabha may be interpreted to mean that Vikramāditya I was obliged to reinvade the territory after the kingdom of Piṣṭapura had once again declared its independence consequent on the death of Pulakēśin II.

At the violent end of Pulakēśin II in 642 A.D. in the course of the retaliatory invasion of his capital Vātāpi by his Pallava contemporary Narasimhavarman I, thirteen years of darkness crept into Chalukya history. From the midst of that chaos, after years of struggle, the late emperor's son, Vikramāditya, rose in about 654-55 A.D. and attained to great power. To rebuild upon ruins is more difficult than to build anew. Even

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 16 ff.

²⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 5-6.

²⁸ *The Classical Age*, p. 250.

²⁹ Swamikannu Pillai: *The Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part I, p. 224.

Vikramāditya, endowed as he was with imperial descent, proven bravery and unrelenting perseverance, could not have achieved this near-miracle of retrieving and rejuvenating a destroyed and disunited empire, lone-handed. On the basis of an inscription³⁰ of the eleventh century from Nagar in the Shimoga District of Mysore State, it has been suggested³¹ that the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, the maternal grandfather of Vikramāditya, was one such helping hand. Though the inscriptions of Vikramāditya himself do not refer to the assistance rendered by any but his sword and his horse Chitrakaṇṭha in the achievement of his success, it is not improbable that the Ālupas, besides the Gaṅgas, had a part to play in his triumph. For, as if in reward for this, and for no other convincing reason, we find the Ālupas in possession of the Kadamba-maṇḍala in the second half of the seventh century. From Vikramāditya onwards, Ālupa history emerges from darkness and personalities and their approximate dates fall into firmer shapes. The Ālupa contemporary of Vikramāditya was Ālavarasa, as yet the first known ruler of that name.

We thus see that the earliest known Ālupa contemporary of a Chalukya emperor, ever since the former were subjugated by Kirttivarman I, is Ālavarasa. However, Saletore, whose mistaken assignment of Māramma Ālvarasa as the Ālupa

³⁰ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 35. This inscription belongs to the reign of the later Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, and, incidentally, provides a detailed history of the Gaṅgas. With reference to Durvinīta this record states that he captured Kāḍuveṭṭi (*i.e.* the Pallava king) on the field of battle, and set up his own daughter's son (*i.e.* Vikramāditya, the son of Pulakēśin II) in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimha, (the founder of the Bādāmi Chalukya line).

³¹ *A History of South India*, p. 145. Though objections to this view have been raised on the ground that the Nagar inscription is of a late date (See *Kaṇṇāṭakada Arasu-manetanagaḷu*, pp. 141-42), the historicity of other traditional accounts contained in that inscription have nowhere been questioned. It must also be borne in mind that the statement in this inscription connecting Gaṅga Durvinīta with Vikramāditya fits well into the known political history of the Bādāmi Chalukyas for the period of Pulakēśin II's fall and his son Vikramāditya's rise.

contemporary of Kīrttivarma I has already been referred to, picked up two other names from inscriptions and made them the contemporaries respectively of Maṅgalēśa and Pulakēśin II, giving them names of Sakala Śrīmat Ālūvarasar and Kundavarmarasa.³² It will be shown below that the former, whose proper name was actually Ālūvarasa, *Sakala-śrīmat* being only an honorific phrase, was an Ālupa ruler of the eighth century and that Kundavarmarasa, whom Saletore considered, further, to have been the father of Ālūvarasa I, was not a member of the Ālupa dynasty but was only an official serving under Ālūvarasa I.

ĀLUVARASA I

The earliest inscription³³ from the territory over which the Ālupas ruled the longest, namely South Kanara, belongs to the reign of Ālūvarasa I. This inscription is found engraved on a stone-slab of very irregular shape kept in the *prākāra* of the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple at Vaḍḍarse in the Udupi Taluk. The record is in early Kannaḍa characters and language. It is not dated but could be assigned to the middle of the seventh century on grounds of palaeography which agrees by and large with the palaeography of similar records of the same period. Archaic forms of *ra*, *ya*, *la* and *ka* are particularly helpful in assigning this inscription to the said period.

The primary importance of this record lies in the fact that it is the earliest as yet discovered inscription from South Kanara. The inscription, which is in many places badly worn out and

³² The inscription of (Sakala Śrīmat) Ālūvarasa is from Udiyāvāra and is No. 96 of *ARSIE.*, 1901. It is published in *SHI.*, Vol. VII, under No. 279. As will be shown below, it belongs to the first half of the eighth century on grounds of palaeography. Saletore got the name of Kundavarmarasa, supposed by him to have been the son of (Sakala Śrīmat) Ālūvarasa and father of Ālūvarasa I from an inscription from Kigga in the Koppa Taluk of Kadur District, Mysore State. This has been published in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI as Kp. 38 by B.L. Rice whose wrong reading of a passage, which will be discussed below, led to Saletore's error.

³³ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, App. B, No. 296.

which begins with the statement that it was written by one Kanakaśiva, refers itself to the reign of Āluvarasa who is not given in the record any titles and epithets but only the honorific *śrīmatu*. It further states that in Āluvarasa's kingdom (*Āluvarasarā rājyad-ulḷe*, which may also mean 'during the reign of Āluvarasa'), while Kandavarmarasa's trusted servant Guṇḍaṇṇa was administering the division (*nāṭṭu mudime keye*) and while Sattigāri was administering Banna, Āḍakappa was holding the rights of cultivation over the cultivable lands in Vaḍḍarse. Beyond this the writing is badly worn out and damaged and the text is readable only in parts but this much could be discerned that 17 *kañchu* and 1 *kīḷ-gañchu* (of money) were granted, on the orders of Chiriyāṇṇa and Guṇḍaṇṇa, for expenses towards the feeding of 17 *brāhmaṇas*. The inscription also records the grant of some land, all details pertaining to this being lost. Some wet-land in the village of Naggepāḍi was also granted, perhaps to an inhabitant of that village (*Naggepāḍiyān*), and the donee appears to have been exempted from paying one tenth of the gross produce of the gift-land as tax.

Āluvarasa, to whose reign this inscription belongs, is also known from another undated inscription³⁴ from Kigga in the Koppa Taluk of Kadur District, Mysore State. The historical portion of this inscription reads—

*śrīmatu Ālu-arasar Guṇasāgara-dvitiya-
nāmadhēyan Kadamba-maṇḍalaman-āḷuttum
Ālu-arasarum Mahādēviyarum Chitravāhanarum
Kundavarmmarasam mudime-geye Kilgāna-
dēvake ellamān sarva-parihāram biṭṭa
modalin = anittōrān = ittante biṭṭa [dharma*]*

'When Ālu-arasa, who had the second name of Guṇasāgara, was ruling over the Kadamba-maṇḍala and during the headmanship (*mudime*) of Kundavarmarasa, Ālu-arasa, (his queen) Mahādēvī and Chitravāhana granted in confirmation the earlier grants to the god of Kilgāna free of all imposts.'

³⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 38.



Like the Vaḍḍarse inscription, this record also is not dated but could be assigned on grounds of palaeography to about the same period. The name of the king and the palaeography of the Vaḍḍarse and Kigga inscriptions are strong enough grounds for concluding that the two records belong to the reign of one and the same Āluvarasa. The confirmation of this identification, as also the nature of the relationship between Āluvarasa and Chitravāhana are found in the Sorab copper-plate grant³⁵ of Chalukya Vinayāditya. This grant, issued in 692 A.D., records the gift of the village Sālivoḡe to the *brāhmaṇa* Divākaraśarman by the emperor Vinayāditya at the request of Chitravāha-mahārāja, the son of Guṇasāgara-Ālupēndra (*Guṇasāgar-Ālupēndr-ātmaja-śrī-Chitravāha-mahārāja-vijñāpanayā*). Chitravāha-mahārāja of the Sorab plates being undoubtedly the same as Chitravāhana of the Kigga inscription, his father Guṇasāgara Ālupēndra could be none other than the Āluvarasa of the Vaḍḍarse and Kigga records.

While editing the Kigga inscription, B.L. Rice committed the error of reading the passage '*Kundavarmmarasaṁ mudime geye*' as '*Kundavarmmarasaṁ muḍime-geye*' and accordingly translated it as 'on Kundavarmmarasa coming to his end'.³⁶ Naturally enough Moraes³⁷ and Saletore³⁸ made Kundavarmmarasa the predecessor and father of Āluvarasa. The former even went so far as to suggest that Kundavarmmarasa 'became the vassal of Chālukya Pulikēśi II and was appointed by him to rule over the Kadamba-maṇḍala or the Banavāsi province.' The wrong reading of the passage concerning Kundavarmmarasa in the Kigga inscription, coupled with the knowledge of the destruction of the Banavāsi Kadambas by Pulakēśin II and the subsequent appearance of Āluvarasa as the ruler of Kadamba-maṇḍala had, no doubt, precipitated these wrong conclusions. If Kundavarmmarasa is accepted as the father of Āluvarasa and also as the first Ālupa ruler of Kadamba-maṇḍala, it will be difficult to explain how the Ālūpas, on whom the Kadamba-maṇḍala was bestowed

³⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146.

³⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Translations, p. 82.

³⁷ *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 77.

³⁸ *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva* pp. 74 and 82.

by Pulakēśin II, succeeded in keeping their hold upon that politically important territory for more than a decade of utter confusion, when the capital of their suzerains, Vātāpi, was under the occupation of the victorious Pallavas.

The truth is, however, brought home by the correct reading of the above passage as *Kundavarmmarasaṁ mudime geye* (when Kundavarmmarasa was the headman probably of the district around Kigga, the find-spot of the inscription). The expression *mudime geye* in the sense of 'headmanship' is of common occurrence in inscriptions from South Kanara while *mudime-geye* is entirely unknown even outside.³⁹ It is thus obvious that Kundavarmmarasa was only a subordinate official in charge of the administration of a district and that he was also alive at the time the Kigga epigraph was engraved.

We may now study the extent of Āḷuvarasa's territorial possessions. From the provenance of the Vaḍḍarse inscription, we learn that he was the ruler of the Tuḷu country. Kigga, the find-spot of his other inscription, is a village in the Koppa Taluk of Kadur District. In later history, the region around Kigga came to be known as Sāntalige-1000 under the rule of the Sāntaras who had Pombuchchapura (*i.e.* modern Humcha, Shimoga District) for their headquarters. It will be shown by and by that the Āḷupas laid claims to authority over the Pombuchcha region for generations. The Kigga inscription states clearly that Āḷuvarasa was ruling over the Kadamba-maṇḍala. Thus we find Āḷuvarasa holding sway over a fairly extensive area made up of the South Kanara District which, according to later inscriptions, was a 6000 division, the Sāntalige region which was a 1000 division and the Kadamba-maṇḍala also known as Banavāsi-12000⁴⁰.

³⁹ Strangely enough, in page 323 of *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI wherein the text of the Kigga inscription is given in Kannaḍa characters, the correct reading *mudime-geye* is found printed. While editing some inscriptions of the Āḷupas in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 15 ff., Hultzsch gave in p. 21, note 3, the correct reading and interpretation of this text on the analogy of its Tamil equivalent '*naṭṭu-mudumai*'.

⁴⁰ See map attached.

It is interesting to note that both the Vaḍḍarse and the Kigga inscriptions do not mention any over-lord of the Ālupa king. But Ālugarasa's rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala as also the political career of his son Chitravāhana clearly show that Ālugarasa was closely connected with the house of the Bādāmi Chalukyas. We have already suggested that Ālugarasa may have played an important role in Vikramāditya's struggles for the recovery of his lost empire. Perhaps, by virtue of his great services to Vikramāditya, Ālugarasa had earned for himself the position of an honoured though subordinate ally.⁴¹

The position of honour and importance held by Ālugarasa I in the Chalukya empire is illustrated by the Mārūtūru grant which, as has been shown above, was issued on the 12th of May, A.D. 663, in the 8th year of Vikramāditya I's reign. One of the two purposes of the grant, made by the emperor, was the invocation of eternal merit (*akshayya-phala*) upon Āluka-mahārāja who had travelled all the way from Maṅgalapura, at the risk of neglecting the enjoyment, administration and defence of his own district (*sva-vishay=ōpabhōga-rakṣaṇa-vidhi-vidhānāny-apahāya*) in order to oblige the emperor (*mad-artham*). The emperor gratefully recollects the fact that Āluka-mahārāja had gone all the way from Maṅgalapura disregarding the ruggedness of the roads, the long duration of the journey and all the hazards which accompany such a travel (*vishama-vikṛishṭi-ādhwāna-pravāsa-pratyavāya-duḥkhāny-agaṇayan*). Āluka-mahārāja went to Kallūru in order to accept the overlordship of the region from the emperor.

We have already suggested the identity of Āluka-mahārāja with Ālugarasa I. The kind references made in the grant to this ruler support our view that Ālugarasa had earned the gratitude of Vikramāditya by helping him at a time of great stress.

The editor of the above record has wrongly identified Maṅgalapura with 'Maṅgalagiri near Kṛishṇā river'. This place should be identified with Mangalore in the South Kanara

⁴¹ This conclusion is also amply confirmed by the fact, to be discussed hereafter, that Ālugarasa's son Chitravāhana was accepted for the hand of Kuṅkumadēvi, the sister of Chalukya Vijayāditya.

District, which was the capital of Āḷuvakhēḍa during the reigns of Āḷuvarasa I and Chitravāhana I. In fact, such an identification is suggested by the description of the difficulties of a travel from Maṅgalapura across the Western Ghats to Kallūru and Māruṭūru which have been rightly located by the editor in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh.

We learn from this grant that Āḷuvarasa had the title of *Mahārāja*, a title indicative of subordinate status. Āḷuvarasa's overlordship of Kallūru could not have lasted long and must be taken only as an honour conferred on him by the emperor. That he did not stay on at Kallūru is suggested by his Kigga inscription which, because it mentions his son and successor Chitravāhana, should be referred to the last years of his reign.

We may now turn our attention to the probable dates and duration of Āḷuvarasa's reign. Since the Vaḍḍarse inscription makes no reference to Āḷuvarasa's rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala, it may be referred to a date prior to 654-55 A.D., when Vikramāditya successfully recovered the Chalukya throne and by virtue of which the kingdom of the Kadambas came under Āḷupa sway. Āḷuvarasa's reign, therefore, may be taken to have commenced in about 650 A.D., a date which stands supported by the palaeography of the Vaḍḍarse inscription. As for the upper limit of his reign-period, all that we definitely know now is that he was still ruling in A.D. 663, the date of the Māruṭūru grant and that his son Chitravāhana (mentioned as Chitravāha) had already succeeded him when the Sorab plates of Chalukya Vinayāditya were issued in 692 A.D. However, the palaeography of Āḷuvarasa's undated Kigga inscription discussed above and his son Chitravāhana's undated record from the same place is the same. These two records could be tentatively assigned to about 680 A.D., thus giving Āḷuvarasa a reign period of thirty years. This would make Āḷuvarasa the ruler of the Tuḷu country and the Pombuchcha region from about 650 A.D., and of Kadamba-maṇḍala from about 655 A.D. to about 680 A.D.

Before proceeding to discuss the next reign, we may discuss in brief the personnel associated with Āḷuvarasa. The Kigga

inscription reads in part 'Ālu-arasarum Mahādēviyarum Chitravāhanarum' i.e. Āluarasa, Mahādēvi and Chitravāhana. Scholars who have given their attention to this inscription have taken *Mahādēvi* to mean the queen or the great queen of Ālu-arasa.⁴² Since, however, neither the king nor his son Chitravāhana receive any titles and are simply mentioned by their names, Mahādēvi obviously is the proper name of the queen of Āluvarasa and the mother of Chitravāhana.

The Vaḍḍarse inscription mentions one Satyādityarasa in a context which is not clear. In view of the names Udayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vimalāditya borne by some Ālupa kings of the 9th and 10th centuries, it is tempting to suggest that Satyāditya was an Ālupa prince. No other available record of the Ālupas, however, mentions this name. The Vaḍḍarse inscription also mentions a few subordinate officials. Of these, Guṇḍaṇṇa who is stated in the record to have been administering the *nāḍu*, probably the district around Vaḍḍarse, the find-spot of the inscription, is described as the trusted servant (*pramāny-ā!*) of Kandavarमारasa. We do not know what position Kandavarमारasa himself occupied in Āluvarasa's kingdom. In its more damaged parts the inscription refers to the headmanship (*mudime*) of Pāḍuvaliyā-nāḍu. The occurrence of the names of this *nāḍu* and Voḍḍarase (modern Vaḍḍarse) in the same line with only a few completely damaged letters in between, leads to the belief that Pāḍuvaliyā-nāḍu was the name of the district under Guṇḍaṇa's headmanship (*mudime*). The name Sattigāri, borne by the headman of Banna is interesting. In later records, Sattiga occurs as one of the colloquial forms of Satyāśraya.⁴³ Sattig-āri would thus mean 'the enemy of Sattiga (Satyāśraya)'. Satyāśraya being a popular Chālukya epithet, the appearance of a Sattigāri as an official under Āluvarasa, a friend if not a vassal of the Chālukyas, is puzzling and cannot be explained in the present state of our knowledge. Sattigāri was the headman

⁴² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 16., *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 77; *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva*, p. 73.

⁴³ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 432.

of a subdivision of the district called Pāḍuvaliyā-nāḍu. The name of the subdivision is damaged and only the letters *banna* could be made out from line 7. In line 15, however, immediately after the name of Sattigāri, occurs the word Banne which may after all be the full name of the subdivision. In that case, Sattigāri was the headman of Banna or Banne. Line 16 of the inscription states that the grants were made on the orders of Chiriyāṇṇa and Guṇḍaṇṇa. The latter may have been the same as Guṇḍaṇṇa, the trusted servant of Kandavarmarasa and the headman of the *nāḍu*. The identity of Chiriyāṇṇa and the nature of his relationship to Guṇḍaṇṇa are not discernible from the epigraph. Another official mentioned in the record is Āḍakappa who is stated therein to be the holder of the rights of cultivation over the cultivable lands of Vaḍḍarse.

The Kigga inscription states that Kundavarmarasa was the headman (of the district) during Āḷuvarasa's rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala. We have already stated that the region around Kigga, which later on became part of Sāntalige-1000 with Pombuchcha for its capital, was under Āḷuvarasa's sway. Kundavarmarasa thus appears to have been administering the district around Kigga as a subordinate of Āḷuvarasa I.

Āḷuvarasa I was succeeded in about 680 A.D. by his son Chitravāhana I.

CHITRAVĀHANA I

We have already discussed the undated Kigga inscription which belongs to the reign of Āḷuvarasa I and mentions his queen Mahādēvī and their son Chitravāhana I. Another inscription⁴⁴ from the same place, the writings in which are the same as in the former from the palaeographical point of view and therefore are assignable to the same period, refers itself to the rule of Chitravāhana who is undoubtedly identical with his namesake mentioned in the other epigraph as the son of Āḷuvarasa I. The first passage in this record reads: 'śrīmach-

⁴⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 37.





Chitravāhana Pombuchch-āle', i.e. when the illustrious Chitravāhana was ruling over Pombuchcha. We have already pointed out that Pombuchcha, which is the same as modern Humcha in the Shimoga District, became in the 10th century the headquarters of Sāntalige-1000, a division consisting of parts of the Shimoga and Kadur Districts. While the inscription of Āluvarasa shows him as ruling over Kadamba-maṇḍala, that of Chitravāhana speaks of him as ruling over Pombuchcha i.e., the country around Pombuchcha which formed only a part of the former's territorial possessions at the zenith of his career. This statement in the inscription of Chitravāhana is difficult to explain in the present state of our knowledge. On the one hand, it could be interpreted to mean that Chitravāhana, who had by then succeeded Āluvarasa at Banavāsi, went on a visit to Pombuchcha and, as would befit the occasion, caused the grant to be recorded on stone. In that case the statement in the inscription would merely mean that the Pombuchcha region was also under his sway. On the other hand, the implication may be that, while Āluvarasa was ruling over his possessions from his headquarters at Banavāsi, his son Chitravāhana was in charge of the administration of the Pombuchcha region. Even if this were the case, in view of what we know regarding the further career of Chitravāhana, it must be conceded that his appointment as the ruler of Pombuchcha must have come off towards the very end of his father's reign and even while he was very young. The complete absence of any reference to the reign of his father in this record, however, leads to the belief that, in spite of the statement therein that he was ruling over Pombuchcha, Chitravāhana had succeeded to the throne of his father by the time the record at Kigga was written.

Āluvarasa's close contacts with the imperial Chalukyas were left to be inferred from the fact of his rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala and from the Māruṭūru grant of Vikramāditya I. Chitravāhana's records, barring the undated Kigga inscription, were all, on the other hand, issued by his Chalukya contemporaries, and provide more direct information on the

close contacts which characterised the relationship between the imperial rulers and the Ālupas of that period.

The Kigga inscription states that when Chitravāhana was ruling over Pombuchcha and Nāgaṇṇa was serving as the *adhikāri* of Kiḷḷa (or, Nāgaṇṇa of Kiḷḷa was the *adhikāri*), it was stipulated that the paddy, cows' milk and the bullocks endowed to the temple of god Kiḷgāṇēśvara were to be utilised by none but the attendants (of the temple itself). This stipulation and the curse, which follows, upon those who should flout it, suggest that the grants being enjoyed by the temple of Kiḷgāṇēśvara had fallen into misuse.

Besides the undated Kigga inscription, three copper-plate grants, all of them issued by his Chalukya overlords, refer to the reign of Chitravāhana and also vouch for the importance of the Ālupa family in that period of Kaṇṇaṭaka history. We have suggested above that Chitravāhana may have ascended the Ālupa throne in about 680 A.D. This would place the date of his accession towards the end of Chalukya Vikramāditya's reign. The earliest of the three copper-plate grants was, however, issued only in 692 A.D. in the reign of Vikramāditya's son Vinayāditya. This grant⁴⁵ from Sorab records the gift of the village Sālivoge to the *brāhmaṇa* Divākaraśarman by the emperor Vinayāditya at the request of Chitravāha-mahārāja, the son of Guṇasāgara-Āḷupēndra. The epithet *Āḷupēndra* which occurs for the first time in this record became the characteristic dynastic surname of the later Ālupas. Chitravāha being undoubtedly the same as Chitravāhana of the two undated Kigga inscriptions, the title *mahārāja*, also borne by his father Āḷuvarasa I, is of interest in that only these two rulers of the Ālupa family are known to have had this title. The later Ālupas gave themselves high-sounding titles such as *adhirāja-rāja* and *para-*

⁴⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff. The date given in the record is Śaka 614 (expired), 11th regnal year of Vinayāditya, Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti, Rōhiṇi-nakṣatra, Saturday which, barring the *nakṣatra* given, corresponds to the 22nd of June, 692 A.D.

mēśvara. The title *mahārāja* was in all probability conferred upon Āluvarasa I and Chitravāhana by the Chalukyas, with whom they entered into very close alliance, as a mark of honour and recognition.

The Sorab plates do not state in as many words that Chitravāhana was on that date the ruler of Kadamba-maṇḍala. This fact, however, is easily arrived at by the statement contained in the grant portion of the record that the gift village Sālivoge was situated in the district (*vishaya*) of Eḍevoḷal in the vicinity of Vaijayantīpura (*i.e.* the ancient city of Banavāsi, the headquarters of Banavāsi-12000 or Kadamba-maṇḍala). The relevant portion of the record reads—*śrī-Vaijayantīpur-ōpakaṇṭhē pūrvv-ōttara-diśūyām Eḍevoḷal-nāma-vishayē Sālivoge-nāma-grāmaḥ dattaḥ*). The emperor was obviously on a visit to the Banavāsi-12000 division when he was requested by the ruler of the division, Chitravāhana, to make the grant recorded in the Sorab plates. The plates further state that on the date of the grant Vinayāditya was encamped in the village of Chitrasēdu in the Toramara-vishaya (*Toramara-vishayē Chitrasēdu-grāmam=adhivasati [satī*]*). Obviously Toramara-vishaya and Eḍevoḷal-vishaya were two sub-divisions of Kadamba-maṇḍala and the villages Chitrasēdu and Sālivoge were not far removed from Banavāsi, the headquarters of Ālupa Chitravāhana.⁴⁶

The next copper-plate grant⁴⁷ in chronological order, which refers to Chitravāhana, is from Harihar and was issued in 694 A.D.⁴⁸ by the same emperor, Vinayāditya. It records

⁴⁶ *The Kadamba Kula* (p. 77) would have us believe that Eḍevoḷal was the hereditary district of Chitravāhana and that it was outside the Banavāsi province which was also under his rule. The expression *Banavāsi-maṇḍalē Eḍevoḷal-bhōgē* occurring in line 28 of the Harihar plates of Vinayāditya, being discussed above, however clearly shows that Eḍevoḷal was only a sub-division within the Banavāsi province. As such Eḍevoḷal was not the hereditary district of the Ālupas but came under their sway when Kadamba-maṇḍala was bestowed upon them by the Bādāmi Chalukyas.

⁴⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff. and plates.

⁴⁸ The details of the date given are Śaka 616 (expired), regnal year 14, Kārttika, Paurṇamāsī corresponding to A.D. 694, October 9.

the gift of the village Kīrukāgāmāsi situated in Eḍevolal-bhōga, a sub-division of Vanavāsi-maṇḍala, by the emperor, who was at that time encamped in the village of Karañjapatra in the vicinity of Harēshapura, to the *brāhmaṇa* Īśānaśarman at the request of Āḷuvarāja. The reference to the Āḷupa chief merely as Āḷuvarāja is of interest. Though Āḷuvarāja is only the sanskritised form of Āḷuvarasa, the chief could not be identified, for obvious chronological reasons, with Guṇasāgara. His son Chitravāhana is apparently mentioned here by his dynastic surname. While in the Sorab plates he is given the title of *Mahārāja*, the Harihar plates refer to him merely as *śrīmat Āḷuvarāja*.

The eulogy of Vinayāditya, as given in the Harihar plates, makes a direct reference to the hereditary servitude of the Āḷupas, a fact which could be inferred from the rule over Kadamba-maṇḍala of Āḷuvarasa I and Chitravāhana and which is proved by the Māruṭūru grant discussed above, in these words— '*Pallava-Kalabhra-Kērala-Haihaya-Viḷa--Mālava--Chōla--Pāṇḍy--ādyāḷyēn = Āḷuva-Gaṅg-ādyair = mmaulais = sama-bhṛityatān = nīṭāḷ*' i.e. 'By whom the Pallavas, the Kaḷabhras, the Kēraḷas, the Haihayas, the Viḷas, the Mālavas, the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and others were brought into a similar state of servitude with the Āḷupas and the Gaṅgas who were hereditary servants'. We have seen above that the Gaṅga king and the Āḷupendra (i.e. the Āḷupa ruler whose name is not known) are referred to in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II as subdued by the very dignity of the emperor. It could be safely read in between these two statements that the Āḷupas, once conquered by Kīrttivarman I, continued their allegiance to the Chalukyas without a break.

The third copper-plate grant⁴⁹, from Shiggaon in the Dharwar District, gives the latest date for the reign of Chitravāhana, having been issued in 707 A.D.⁵⁰ in the reign of Vinayāditya's son and successor Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733/4). The

⁴⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff., and plates.

⁵⁰ The details of the date given are Śaka 630 (expired), regnal year 11, Āshāḍha, Paurṇamāsi corresponding to A.D. 707, June 20, Monday.

contents of this record are important for the history of the Ālupas and hence deserve to be studied in detail.

After giving the characteristic genealogical narrative of the Chalukyas and the date, the Shiggaon plates, in lines 31 to 41, read as follows:—

*Kisuvolaḷ-nāma-sthānam = adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē
 Ālupēndram drashtum Vanavāsīm = āyātavati Vijayāditya-
 vallabhēndrē Āshāḍha-paurṇamāsyām Pāṇḍy-āmala-
 kulam = alamkurvataḥ sakala-lōka-vidita-mahāpra-
 bhāvasya ananya-sādhāraṇa-tyāg-ōdaya-sampat-sam-
 udhṛita-niśita-nistṛimśa-saṁghāta-vitrasta-viśīryamāṇ-
 ānēka-ripu-nṛipati-matta-mātāṅga-saṁghātasya Cha-
 lukya-rājy-ābhivṛiddhi-hētu-bhūtasya Chitravāhana-
 narēndrasya vijñāpanayā sva-hṛidaya-prahlādanakārinyā
 hasi-rath-ādy-anēka-dāna-pradāna-puras-sara-hiranya-
 garbh-āvabhṛita-snāna-pavitrikṛita-sarīrayā Kumkuma-
 dēvyā Purigere-nagarē kāritaṁ Jina-bhavanam = uddiśya
 nava-karma-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskāra-dēva-pūjā-
 dānaśāl-ādi-dharmma-pravarttan-ārttham sakal-
 ārhat-samaya-tilaka-śrī-Mūlasaṁgh-ōdgha-Sūrasta-
 dharmm-ōpadēśēn = āśēsha-nikāya-samāna-satr-āvāsō
 Guḍḍigere-grāmō dattaḥ [1*1]⁵¹*

Kisuvolaḷ, the *sthāna* where the king was encamped when he set out on his journey to Banavāsi to see Ālupēndra, is the same as Paṭṭadakal in Hungund Taluk, Bijapur District and, as a crow flies, is over a hundred miles removed from Banavāsi in Sirsi Taluk, North Kanara District. When we consider the proximity of the Chalukya capital Vātāpi (i.e. Bādāmi) and Paṭṭadakal which are situated in the same Taluk of Hungund and when we consider the great distance between these two places on the one hand and Banavāsi on the other, the inevitable conclusion is that the emperor's visit was not the casual result of his presence, for other reasons, in the vicinity of Banavāsi but was because of the high standing Chitravāhana enjoyed in his

⁵¹ A few minor errors which had crept into the original plates are ignored in this quotation which is given here with the necessary corrections suggested by the learned editor Dr. G. S. Gai.

relations with the Chalukyas. The importance of Chitravāhana is amply borne out by the passage in the Shiggaon plates, quoted above. This passage describes Chitravāhana as adorning the pure family of the Pāṇḍyas. In spite of the unhistorical legend of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya of Tuḷuva,⁵² it is certain that the Āḷupas did not owe their origin to any blood relationship with the Pāṇḍyas. Though, as will be shown below, two Āḷupa rulers, Prithivīsāgara and Māramma, both of the ninth century, had the epithet *Uttama-Pāṇḍya*⁵³ and, in still later times, the Āḷupa kings adopted titles such as *paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya*, *Pāṇḍya-dhanañjaya*, *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartin* etc., one of the later kings even having the proper name of Virapāṇḍyadēva,⁵⁴ neither the available inscriptions of Āḷuvarasa I nor the other records belonging to or referring to the reign of Chitravāhana himself seek to associate the Āḷupas with the Pāṇḍya lineage. Since Chitravāhana is the earliest of the known Āḷupas to be connected with the Pāṇḍya-kula and since the Shiggaon plates are the first to do so, a resort to contemporary political history of the South may help us solve this Āḷupa-Pāṇḍya puzzle.

The Vēlvikkudi copper-plate grant⁵⁵ of the third year of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ (c. 756-815 A.D.), in a passage relating to the martial achievements of his grandfather Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ (c. 700-730 A.D.) says, among other things, '*koṅg-alarun-narum-poḷilvāy=kuyiloḍu mayil=agavu=Maṅgalapuram=enṇum mahā-nagaruṇ-Mahāratharai erind=alitt=arai-kaḍal-valāgam poḍu-moli agarri*'⁵⁶ i.e., 'at the great city called Maṅgalapura, where the peacock danced with the cuckoo near tanks

⁵² The legend is contained in the *Grāmapaddhati* of Tuḷuva which stands little proved by historical tests. Buchanan also records a tradition, which he calls as the *Rāya-paddhati*, according to which the devils made Bhūta-Pāṇḍya Rāya rule over Tuḷuva for fortytwo years. The date given therein, however, for this legendary king is Śaka 1175 i.e. 1253-54 A.D. For a detailed discussion on the merits and demerits of the legend of Bhūtāḷa-Pāṇḍya, see *Ancient Karmāḷaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuḷuva*, pp. 347 ff.

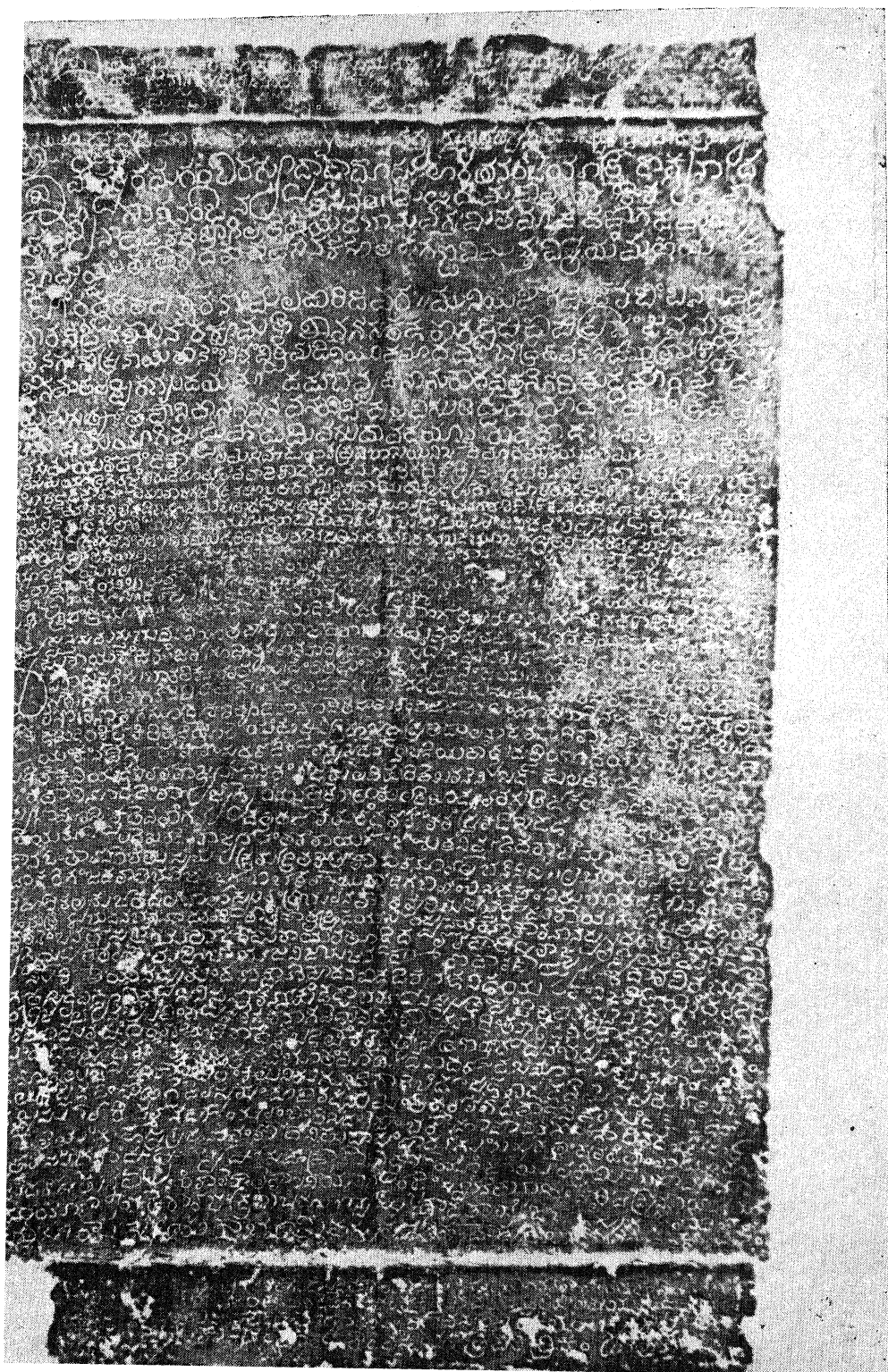
⁵³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 22-23, Nos. VII and VIII.

⁵⁴ See Chapter IV below on the Medieval Āḷupas.

⁵⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff., and plates.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 301, text, lines 65-67.

INSCRIPTION OF KUNḌAṆA



perfumed with opening flowers, (Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ) attacked and destroyed the *Mahārathas* (and thus) removed the word "common property" (with reference to) the country (bordering) on the roaring seas.⁵⁷

The great city (*mahā-nagara*) of Maṅgalapuram has been rightly identified with the modern city of Mangalore in South Kanara District and is the same as the Maṅgalapura of the Māru-tūru grant. This would mean that Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ carried his arms right into the kingdom of the Ālupas and was drawn into battle by the *Mahārathas* at the city of Mangalore. Saletore mistook the word *Mahāratha* for *Māraṭṭa* and sought to establish that Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ encountered the forces of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa at Maṅgalapura. This induced Saletore to make the following remarks—' . . . in the reign of Prabhūtarsha Gōvinda III, the Rāshtrakūṭa king, an Ālupa feudatory was punished with the forfeiture of a part of his territory. The reason is obvious: on the failure of the Ālupa ruler (Chitra-vāhana II) to carry out the imperial order against Śaḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra (i.e. Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ) the Rāshtrakūṭa viceroy, no doubt at the instance of the emperor, became angry and sent a general against the Ālupa king.'⁵⁸ These views are not supported by the facts of known history.

The Vēlvikkūḍi grant was issued in the reign of Neḍuñ-jaḍaiyaṇ, the grandson of Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ and is to be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the middle of the eighth century.⁵⁹ What is more, the Ānamalai inscription⁶⁰ of Kali year 3871 (expired) gives for Neḍuñjāḍaiyaṇ the date of 770 A.D., thus rendering Saletore's date of 795-800 A.D. for the reign of his grandfather Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ an utter impossibility. Neḍuñ-jaḍaiyaṇ (756-815 A.D.) himself, and not Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ as has been supposed by Saletore, was the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Gōvinda III (792-814 A.D.) Thus on grounds of the palaeo-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁵⁸ *Ancient Kārnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva*, pp. 215 ff.

⁵⁹ *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 39 ff.

⁶⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 318 and 320.

graphy of the Vēlvikkuḍi grant and the date of the Ānamalai inscription, Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ should be considered as the contemporary, not of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, but of Chalukya Vijayāditya (696-733/34 A.D.). The date of 700-730 A.D. given elsewhere⁶¹ for the reign period of Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ suits the known history of the early Pāṇdyas best. Thus the political exigencies which compelled Gōvinda III to expel Chitravāhana II from a part of the latter's territories, which event is graphically depicted in an inscription⁶² from Māvaḷi, were not the ones given by Saletore and quoted above, but were entirely different as will be shown at the proper place below. It will be further shown that at the time of his requital by Gōvinda III, Chitravāhana was not in possession of the Tuḷu country in which was situated the city of Maṅgalapura.

It thus becomes apparent that Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ defeated the *Mahārathas* at Maṅgalapura in the reign of Vijayāditya. The Āḷupas being the subordinate allies of the Chalukyas, it is reasonable to suppose that the *Mahārathas* who faced the Pāṇḍya invasion at Mangalore were the imperial Chalukya forces stationed in the Āḷupa kingdom for obvious political reasons. It is not improbable that, this battle having been fought in Āḷupa territory, Chitravāhana had the occasion to exhibit his valour in effectively checking the progress of the Pāṇḍya invader further deep into Tuḷuva and therefrom into Chalukya territory. This may also explain why Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ did not leave behind any vestiges in Tuḷuva of this raid upto Mangalore. The reason why Vijayāditya himself makes no references to a war against the Pāṇdyas may be because the Pāṇḍya invasion did not involve the actual territories of the Chalukyas. This achievement on the part of Chitravāhana I may have prompted the members of his family to associate themselves with the dynastic name of Pāṇḍya as a mark of triumph and glory. The eulogy '*Chalukyarājyābhivṛddhi-hētu-*

⁶¹ *A History of South India*, p. 163. Also see *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 41.

⁶² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.

bhūtaḥ i.e., 'he who was the cause for the prosperity of the Chalukya kingdom', accorded to Chitravāhana in the passage from the Shiggaon copper-plate inscription quoted above, does indicate that he had rendered valuable service to the imperial house at a moment of stress. In the comparatively peaceful reign of Vijayāditya, it is difficult to think of another exigency by the distinction obtained in facing which an otherwise petty chieftain like Chitravāhana could have brought upon himself such lofty praise.

As has been pointed out above, the Shiggaon plates are dated in 707 A.D. The Harihar plates of 694 A.D., issued in the previous reign, merely mention Chitravāhana I as Āḷuvarāja. Since the approximate year of Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ's accession was 700 A.D., it may be suggested here that the battle of Maṅgalapura between Kōchchaḍaiyaṇ on the one side and Chitravāhana I and the *Mahārathas* on the other may have been fought sometime between 700 and 707 A.D.

It has been suggested above that Chitravāhana I may have succeeded his father in about 680 A.D. This would mean that Chitravāhana had been ruling for over a quarter of a century at the time the Shiggaon plates were issued. His reign may have commenced at a date not far removed from the date of Vinayāditya's accession in 681 A.D. Records of the period crowd the fifteen years of Vinayāditya's reign with military expeditions against a number of enemy kings. Chitravāhana I may have earned the praise, accorded to him in the above quoted passage from the Shiggaon plates, that he destroyed with the help of his flashing sword the elephants of many an enemy king, by virtue of his having taken an active part in the wars of Vinayāditya.

The object of the Shiggaon plates is to register some grant made by the emperor Vijayāditya at the time of his visit to Chitravāhana at Banavāsi, at the latter's request, to the Jaina monastery which was caused to be constructed by Kuṁkumadēvī at Purigere. Purigere is the same as modern Lakshmēśvar in Shirhatti Taluk, Dharwar District. Among the gifts made to the Jaina monastery

was the village Guḍḍigere which is identical with modern Guḍigēri, about six miles to the west of Lakshmēśvar and situated in the same Taluk and District.

A Jain inscription⁶³ in this village of Guḍigēri, dated in Śaka 998 (expired), Anala = 1076-77 A.D., says⁶⁴— *Chālukya-chakravartti-Vijayādityavallabh-ānujey = appa śrīmat-Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi Purigereyalu mādisid = Ānesejjeya-basadi* i.e. 'the Ānesejjeya-basadi caused to be constructed at Purigere by Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi, the younger sister of the Chālukya emperor Vijayāditya-vallabha'. We further learn from the same inscription that, on the authority of a copper-plate charter, the lands of Guḍigere were under the control of the Ānesejje monastery built by Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi. It may be concluded from these that the copper-plate charter was none other than the Shiggaon plates and that the Ānesejje monastery and Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi, the sister of Vijayāditya, were identical with the monastery and its builder Kuṁkumadēvi mentioned in those plates.

Immediately after referring to Chitravāhana's request to Vijayāditya (*Chitravāhana-narēndrasya-vijñāpanayā*), the Shiggaon plates allude to Kuṁkuma-mahādēvi as *svahṛidaya-prahlādana-kāriṇī* i.e. 'the delight to his heart'. From the context in which it occurs, this expression should be interpreted with reference to Chitravāhana-narēndra. In view of these facts, the learned editor of the Shiggaon plates observes⁶⁵—'Since Vijayāditya was her brother and since the grant to the Jaina monastery caused to be erected by her was made at the request of Chitravāhana, it is tempting to suggest that she might have been the wife of the Āḷupa ruler Chitravāhana. The expression *svahṛidaya-prahlādana-kāriṇyā* applied to Kuṁkumadēvi in lines 36-37 (of the Shiggaon plates) might refer to Chitravāhana. Thus he might have been related to the king as brother-in-law. And the way in which Vijayāditya's visit to Banavāsi is described might lend further support to this view; cf. *Ālupēndram drashtuṁ*

⁶³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 35 ff.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39, text, lines 20-21.

⁶⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 319.

Vanavāsīm-āyātavati Vijayāditya-vallabhēndrē in line 32. This suggests that the king had gone to Banavāsi as if to pay a courtesy visit to his brother-in-law and not in the capacity of an overlord.'

Thus we find Chitravāhana carrying the fame of the Ālūpa dynasty to considerable heights not only by means of his political eminence but also by striking a marital alliance with the imperial Chalukyas. In this connection, it may be suggested that the marriage of Chitravāhana with Kumkumadēvi must have been celebrated sometime after 694 A.D. at which date the Harihar plates speak of Ālūpa servitude to Vinayāditya who would have been more respectful towards the family of his son-in-law if Chitravāhana had been such at that date. If this is accepted, it will have to be conceded, however, that Chitravāhana was barely a boy when he succeeded his father in about 680 A.D.

The Shiggaon plates further eulogise that the great power of Chitravāhana was known in all the worlds and that his incomparable munificence eclipsed the fame of all other generous men. As for his queen Kumkumadēvi, the record says that her body was purified by the sacred bath at the *hiranyagarbha* sacrifice which was accompanied by numerous gifts of elephants and chariots.

Chitravāhana I, like his father Guṇasāgara *alias* Ālūvarasa I, was a Śaivite. His queen Kumkumadēvi, on the other hand, caused to be constructed a Jaina monastery to which some grants were made at the request of her husband. The Shiggaon plates thus give us a glimpse into the spirit of tolerance which moderated the religious leanings of the rulers of those days.

As for Chitravāhana's reign period, it has been suggested above that he may have succeeded his father at Banavāsi in about 680 A.D. The latest known date for him, 707 A.D., is provided by the Shiggaon plates. If, as has been suggested, he was only a boy at the time of his succession, he may be taken to have ruled until about 730 A.D.

To this period of glory in Ālūpa history belongs an undated inscription⁶⁶ on a broken pillar planted in front of the Durgā

⁶⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1927-28, No. B 375. The first quarter of the stanza is metri-

Paramēśvarī temple at Poḷali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk. Beautifully engraved in Kannaḍa characters of the 7th-8th century, this inscription, which commences with the auspicious word *svasti*, consists of only one stanza in Sanskrit in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The verse reads—

śrīmatām vipula-varṇśa-vaśīkṛita-mahābhujām

Pāṇḍyānām-Āḷupēndrānām avyāsus-Sapta-mātarāḥ

‘The Seven Divine Mothers are the protectors of the illustrious Āḷupēndras, who attract (the friendship) of emperors because of the greatness of their family and who were (known as) Pāṇḍyas.’

The reference to the Seven Divine mothers as the protectors of the Āḷupas reminds one of the expression *Sapta-matṛibhir-abhivarddhītānām*, usually found in the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chalukyas. The above dynastic eulogy was composed and engraved obviously at a time when the Āḷupas were at the zenith of their power as a result of their close and friendly contacts with the Chalukyas.

As for his territorial possessions, Chitravāhana I does not appear to have added to those under his father, namely the native kingdom of the Āḷupas (i.e. the South Kanara District), the Pombuchcha region and the Banavāsi country.

ĀḸUVARASA II

There is no direct evidence to show who succeeded Chitravāhana and where and when. Strangely enough, the next dated record mentioning an Āḷupa ruler does not come from any of their three above mentioned territorial possessions but is from Mallam⁶⁷ a village in the Gudur Taluk of the Nellore District, in Andhra Pradesh. Another surprise in the record is that it refers itself to the reign of Nandivarman II (A.D. 731-95), a member of the imperial Pallava dynasty of Kāñchī with which the Āḷupas do not appear to have had any contacts till then.

cally defective though all the 8 syllables necessary for the *Anuṣṭubh* metre are present.

⁶⁷ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 429-30 and plate.

This is a stone inscription in Tamil and is dated in the fifteenth year of the reign of Nandippōttaraśar i.e., Pallava Nandivarman II. This ruler is known to have ascended the throne at Kāñchī in about 731 A.D.⁶⁸ The Mallam inscription would thus belong to about 745-46 A.D. The object of the record is to register some grant made by the Pallava king to god Subrahmanya of Tiruvāṇbūr in Peyiyūr-iḷaṅgōṭṭam at the request of Āḷuvarasa when Chaḷukki-arasar was the executor (*āṇatti*). Tiruvāṇbūr is evidently the same as Mallam, the find-spot of the inscription, and the division called Peyiyūr-iḷaṅgōṭṭam in which the village was situated was, therefore, the region around Mallam itself.

There is no doubt that Āḷuvarasa of this inscription was the then ruling member of the Āḷupa family. In this connection, it is interesting to note that an undated Kannaḍa inscription⁶⁹ from Udiyāvāra in Udipi Taluk, South Kanara District, palaeographically assignable to the middle of the eighth century, refers itself to the reign of Āḷuvarasa. It will not be farfetched to identify this Āḷuvarasa with his namesake of the Mallam Tamil inscription. Āḷuvarasa was in all probability the son of Chitravāhana and grandson of Guṇasāgara. He appears to have been named so after his grandfather Āḷuvarasa I and hence will be designated Āḷuvarasa II in the pages to follow.

Saletore rightly identified⁷⁰ the Nandippōttaraśar of the Mallam inscription with the Pallava king Nandivarman II (731-795 A.D.) but mistook Āḷuvarasar and the *āṇatti* Chaḷukki-arasar to be none other than Chitravāhana I (680-730 A.D.) and Vijayāditya Satyāśraya (696-733/34 A.D.) both of whom had ended their reigns years before the date of the Mallam inscription. On the other hand, the Mallam inscription belongs to a date which marked either the end of the reign of Vikramāditya II (733/34-744/45 A.D.) or the beginning of the reign of his son Kīrttivarman II (744/45-755 A.D.) The provenance

⁶⁸ *A History of South India*, p. 164.

⁶⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 279.

⁷⁰ *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva*, pp. 207-211.

of the Mallam inscription and the presence of the Āḷupa ruler Āḷuvarasa II in a village so far removed from the bounds of Āḷuvakhēḍa clearly suggest that the allegiance of the Āḷupas had shifted from the house of the Bādāmi Chalukyas to that of the Pallavas sometime before the date of the record (i.e., 745-46 A.D.), most probably sometime in the closing years of the reign of Vikramāditya II. At any rate, it is unlikely that the estrangement would have occurred during the reign of Chitravāhana I who had married a princess of the Chalukya family. It may also be concluded that, as a result of this estrangement between the Āḷupas and their erstwhile overlords, the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, the former were, once and forever, deprived of their sway over the Kadamba-maṇḍala.

On the basis of the Māvaḷi inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III, which has been already referred to and which is important for the reign succeeding that of Āḷuvarasa II, scholars have held that the Āḷupas had acquiesced in the supremacy of the Bādāmi Chalukyas down to the days when the latter were expelled from the Karnāṭaka region by the Rāshṭrakūṭas⁷¹ and that the Kadamba-maṇḍala remained in the possession of the Āḷupas even after the downfall of their Chalukya overlords.⁷²

The Māvaḷi inscription states, in brief, that during the reign of Govinda III, while Rājāditya was the governor of Banavāsi 12000, Chitravāhana, the ruler of Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000, having proved disobedient, the enraged Kākarasa marched

⁷¹ Saletore: *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva*, p. 203. To prove his thesis, Saletore refers to an undated inscription of Kirttivarman II from Aḍūru which he wrongly locates in the Kasargode Taluk of South Kanara District but which, in reality, is a village in the Hangal Taluk of Dharwar District (*ARSIE.*, 1938-39, B.K. No. 115). As a matter of fact, of all the inscriptions so far discovered in South Kanara, not even one belongs to the reign of a member of any of the successive imperial powers of Karnāṭaka until we come down to the reign of the Hoysala ruler Ballāḷa III (1291-1342 A.D.).

⁷² Moraes: *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 78 and 81. In page 81, the author says—'Under the Rāshṭrakūṭas also it (i.e. the Kadamba-maṇḍala) continued to be governed by these chiefs (i.e. the Āḷupas) for well nigh half a century till about the year 800 A.D.'

against him and reduced the fort of Pergguñji. It is this statement which has been interpreted by Moraes to mean that Chitravāhana II was driven out of Kadamba-maṇḍala. This, if accepted, would imply that Ālūvarasa II was in continued possession of Kadamba-maṇḍala even as his predecessors, and would run contrary to the import of the Mallam inscription and the statement in the Māvaḷi inscription itself that Rājāditya was the then governor of Kadamba-maṇḍala. Even if the Chalukyas were at that time a waning power, they were not so weak as to tolerate the sway, over the important territory of Kadamba-maṇḍala, of a subordinate of the Pallavas whose hereditary enmity for the Bādāmi house is only too well known. Moreover, the provenance of the Māvaḷi inscription, as also its contents, clearly show that the battle of Pergguñji was fought somewhere in the Pombuchcha region which had all along formed an integral part of the Ālūpa kingdom. The reasons for the attack on Chitravāhana II by Gōvinda III will be set forth while discussing the next reign. What concerns us here is the conclusion that the Ālūpas had lost Kadamba-maṇḍala by the date of the Mallam inscription.

We have suggested above that Chitravāhana I may have ended his reign in about 730 A.D. This would place the date of Ālūvarasa II's accession in about the same year. The reign of Ālūvarasa II witnessed, on the one hand, the estrangement of the Ālūpas and the Chalukyas and the subsequent loss of Kadamba-maṇḍala and, on the other, the transfer of their allegiance by the Ālūpas to the Pallavas. No records are forthcoming to bear witness to the circumstances which led to this surprising political change. In those days of constant wars, when ambitious rulers were fighting for territorial expansion, it would have been difficult for the rulers of Ālūvakhēḍa to have remained outside the protection of an imperial power after their breach with the Chalukyas. There were then only two powers which were effective against that of the Chalukyas. One centred round the ambitious personality of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga who, about this time, was too busy in the northern domains

of the decaying Chalukya empire. The other one was the Pallava empire with Nandivarman II on the throne. Though the defences of the Pallava empire had been proved vulnerable by two Chalukya invasions in the reign of Vikramāditya II, the position of Nandivarman II himself as emperor had been rendered secure by the efforts of his able general Udayachandra.⁷³ The records of Nandivarman II do not say that the Tulu country was invaded by the Pallavas at any time during his reign. It is thus not possible to know the means by which the Pallava ruler secured the subordination of Āḷuvarasa II.

The Mallam inscription, while referring to the request made by Āḷuvarasa II to Nandivarman II, mentions one Chaḷukki-araśar as the *āṇatti* i.e. the executor of the grant. Saletore, in his attempt to identify Chaḷukki-araśar, says⁷⁴— ‘. . . we know that it was Vijayāditya Satyāśraya’s father Vinayāditya Satyāśraya who had twice been requested by the Āḷupa king Chitravāhana I to make grants to worthy Brāhmans in the Eḍevolal-vishaya in the Banavase country in A.D. 692 and A.D. 694. The two grants⁷⁵ had been made when the royal camp was in Chitrasedu in the Toramara-vishaya and in Karañjapatra in Hareshapura. From these two records it is certain that the Āḷupa king was prone to make requests to his sovereign, the Western Chalukya monarch. We have to suppose that as he had petitioned Vinayāditya Satyāśraya to make grants of land to learned Brāhmans on two different occasions he made a third request to Vinayāditya Satyāśraya’s son and successor, Vijayāditya, who seems to have been on friendly terms with his neighbouring rulers including the Pallava kings. If this is allowed, then, the Chaḷukki-araśar mentioned in the Mallam plates would be Vijayāditya Satyāśraya and the Āḷuvarasar, Chitravāhana I. In that case, the Mallam inscription must have been inscribed before the defeat of Nandipōtavarmā at the hands of Vikramādi-

⁷³ *A History of South India* (II edn.), p. 149.

⁷⁴ *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva*, pp. 210-11.

⁷⁵ The two grants referred to are the Sorab and Harihar plates of Chalukya Vinayāditya, which have been discussed in detail above.

tya II. But the occasion which made Chitravāhana I go over to Mallam in the Guḍūr taluka will remain for the present unsolved.'

The expression used in the Mallam inscription with reference to the names occurring therein is '*Nandip-pōttaraśarkkup-padinaind-āvadu Ālu-araśar vinṇappattiṇār-Chaḷukki-araśar-āṇatti-āga*' i.e. 'in the fifteenth (year of the reign) of Nandippōttaraśar . . . at the request of Ālu-araśar, with Chaḷukki-araśar as the executor (of the grant)'. It has already been pointed out that the fifteenth regnal year of Nandivarman II fell in 745-46 A.D. and that Vijayāditya, with whom Saletore sought to identify Chalukki-araśar, the *āṇatti*, had been succeeded by his son Vikramāditya II as early as in 733-34 A.D. Chaḷukki-araśar of the Mallam inscription could not be Vikramāditya II or his son Kirttivarman II either, for both these rulers displayed their inherited enmity for the Pallavas by carrying out a successful raid against the Pallava empire towards the end (744-45 A.D.) of Vikramāditya II's reign. The answers for the problems posed by the Mallam inscription, therefore, appear to be outside the pale of the history of the Western Chalukyas.

It is certain that Āluvarasa was not present at Mallam as the ruler of the district Peyiyur-iḷaṅgōṭṭam. He was perhaps carried to that distant place by the political currents of his days. It is known that Udayachandra, the loyal general of Nandivarman II, overran the territories of Eastern Chalukya Vishṇuvardhana III soon after lifting the siege at Nandigrāma and that he thereby added the Nellore region to the Pallava empire.⁷⁶ It is not improbable that Āluvarasa accompanied the Pallava general in his expeditions and was consequently at Mallam in 745-46 A.D. The vanquished Eastern Chalukya ruler Vishṇuvardhana III probably acted as the *āṇatti* (Sanskrit *ājñapati* = executor) of the grant which was made at the request of Āluvarasa II. The term *āṇatti* denotes only a subordinate position or office and hence Chaḷukki-araśar could not have been the Bādāmi Chalukya contemporary of Nandivarman II.

⁷⁶ *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, pp. 74-76.

The other inscription of Āḷuvarasa II, from Udiyāvara, which, as has been pointed out above, is not dated but which palaeographically belongs to the middle of the eighth century, records some grant, particulars about which are lost, to the god Chambukalla-dēva by a number of donors, including the seventy tenants of Udiyapura (*Udiyapurada-nakarad-eḷṭṭatt-okkalu*), during the reign of Āḷuvarasa, the possessor of Paṭṭi (*Paṭṭi-oḍeyōn*). Paṭṭi is only another name for Pombuchcha, the modern town of Humcha in the Nagar Taluk of Shimoga District. Next to the Vaḍḍarse inscription of Āḷuvarasa I, which appears to have been engraved before that chief came to possess the Kadamba-maṇḍala, and the Poḷali-Ammunaje inscription discussed above, this Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II is the earliest from South Kanara and its silence about Kadamba-maṇḍala, with which his predecessors Āḷuvarasa I and Chitravāhana I had so much to do, clearly implies that, during his reign, Āḷuvarasa II lost his hold over that important and vast territory. The record ends with the rather puzzling statement that it was written by Kālāditya, the lord of the earth.

Apart from the Udiyāvara and Mallam inscriptions, no other records either belonging to or referring to the reign of Āḷuvarasa II have so far come down to us. It has been suggested above that he may have succeeded his father Chitravāhana I in about 730 A.D. He was in Mallam in 745-46 A.D. It will be seen below that his successor Chitravāhana II ended his reign in about 800 A.D. We thus have about seventy years between the commencement of Āḷuvarasa II's reign and the end of Chitravāhana II's. In the absence of any chronological data, this period may be tentatively split into two equal reigns and thus the reign of Āḷuvarasa II may be considered, for the present, to have ended in about 765 A.D. We learn from the Mārutūru and Vēḷvikkūḍi grants that Maṅgalapura (i.e. modern Mangalore) was the capital city of the Āḷupa kingdom during the reigns of Āḷuvarasa I and Chitravāhana I. But the Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II suggests that he had his capital at Udayapura.

Āḷuvarasa I *alias* Guṇasāgara had started on a humble note holding only the Tuḷu country and the Pombuchcha region at the start of his reign. But, after striking a friendship with the imperial Chalukyas of Bādāmi, he had gained a foothold in Kadamba-maṇḍala. His son Chitravāhana I ushered in a period of glory for the Āḷuḇas, highlighted by his marriage with the Chalukya princess Kumkumadēvi. But the reign of Āḷuvarasa II witnessed the beginning of a decline which started with the loss of Kadamba-maṇḍala and ended, before long, in the confinement of the sway of the Āḷuḇas to the tiny region of Āḷuvakhēḍa or the district of South Kanara. Under Āḷuvarasa II, the Āḷuḇas were still in possession of the Pombuchcha region. But the reign of his successor Chitravāhana II set in motion certain events which led to the final confinement of the Āḷuḇas to Āḷuvakhēḍa.

CHITRAVĀHANA II

The stone inscription from Māvaḷi, which has already been referred to, introduces to us the next Āḷuḇa ruler, Chitravāhana II. Like the other early records on stones having a bearing on Āḷuḇa history, this inscription also is undated but, on grounds of palaeography as well as known historical facts, it could be assigned to the end of the eighth century. This Chitravāhana II was probably a son of Āḷuvarasa II and grandson of Chitravāhana I.

It is very likely that the political allegiance of the Āḷuḇas which was transferred, during Āḷuvarasa II's reign, from the Chalukyas of Bādāmi to the Pallavas of Kāñchī continued as such upto at least 792 A.D. The Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam grant⁷⁷ of Pallava Nandivarman II, which was issued in that year, claims that, among others, the king of the Tuḷu country also waited at the gates of the Pallava emperor praying for audience. From the time they destroyed the empire of the Chalukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers had been on friendly terms with the Pallavas until the reign of Dhruva Dhārāvarsha (780-792 A.D.) who put

⁷⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 121, lines 17-18.

an end to this Pallava-Rāshtrakūṭa alliance by levying a tribute of elephants from Nandivarman II. With hostility marking the relationship between the two imperial powers, the Ālupas must have found it increasingly difficult to ignore the might of the Rāshtrakūṭas whose arms were nearer their kingdom than those of their Pallava suzerain. Dhruva Dhārāvārsha having proved himself more powerful than his Pallava contemporary, the Ālupas under Chitravāhana II may have deemed it wiser to shift their allegiance once again to the imperial power in the Deccan, this time the Rāshtrakūṭas. If this view is accepted, we may have to date this change of allegiance not long after the date of Dhruva's abdication in favour of his able son Gōvinda III in 792 A. D.

The accession of Gōvinda III precipitated a civil war in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire in 792-93 A.D. His eldest brother, Stambha Raṇāvalōka, is known to have opposed Gōvinda III with a confederacy of twelve rulers, but to no purpose.⁷⁸ The identity of the twelve royal supporters is not given in the Rāshtrakūṭa records, but it is not improbable that the Ālupa ruler was among them. Chitravāhana II may have desired to benefit by the disorders in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire and may have thrown in his lot with Stambha. Victory did not prompt Gōvinda III to do away with his opponents. Instead, he treated them with contemptuous generosity.

It is in this light that the Māvaḷi inscription of Gōvinda III becomes important for Ālupa history. This inscription in Kannaḍa language commemorates the heroic death of Kulamudda, a soldier of the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa army, in the battle of Pergguṇji. It states that during Gōvinda III's reign, when Rājādityarasa was ruling over Banavāsi-maṇḍala, Chitravāhana, who was ruling over Āluvakhēḍa-6000, having proved recalcitrant, Kākarasa, at the bidding of the enraged Kolli Pallava Noḷamba, besieged the fortress of Pergguṇji. In the battle which ensued, in which warriors on both sides displayed great valour, Kākarasa, on seeing Chitravāhana breaking through the

⁷⁸ A.S. Altekar: *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their times*, p. 61.

right flank of the imperial forces, ordered Kulamudda to oppose him. This Kulamudda fought valiantly, defeated and drove away the soldiers of Chitravāhana and, after bringing victory to the right flank, fell in the field of battle, even as Bhishma fell, without touching the ground.

The statement in the record that at the time of this battle Rājādityarasa was governing the Banavāsi-maṇḍala goes against the contention of Moraes that the Ālupas lost their hold on Kadamba-maṇḍala as a result of this war. The find-spot of the inscription, Māvaḷi, in the Sorab Taluk of Shimoga District, is in the Pombuchcha region and, therefore, the battle of Pergguṇji was fought in that territory and not in the Kadamba-maṇḍala. Māvaḷi (Skt. *Mahāvallī*) and Pergguṇji (Kannaḍa *Per* = Skt. *Mahā* + Skt. *kuṇja*) are two different names having the same meaning and denoting the same place. The inscription states that the battle resulted from Chitravāhana's failure to listen to the emperor's advice (*bāy* = *kēḷad* = *ire*). This may be interpreted to mean that, even after the defeat of the confederacy of twelve rulers headed by Stambha, Chitravāhana continued to question the supremacy of Gōvinda III and, therefore, came to grief in the battle of Pergguṇji. The Māvaḷi inscription may, therefore, be assigned to about 794-95 A.D., a conclusion which falls in line with the palaeographical features of the record under discussion.

The inscription explicitly states that Chitravāhana and his army were put to headlong flight, implying thereby that the Ālupa ruler was deprived of his hold over a part of the Pombuchcha region. Under these circumstances, the only course that was open to Chitravāhana was to fall back upon Āluvakhēḍa-6000 of which, according to the Māvaḷi inscription, he was the acknowledged sovereign. But with the end of Āluvarasa II's reign, remarkable political developments had taken place in Āluvakhēḍa and elsewhere in Karnāṭaka, and in order to correctly understand the history of the Ālupas during that period, it becomes incumbent on our part to evaluate in detail these developments.

In the early years of the second half of the eighth century, the political picture of Karnāṭaka underwent momentous changes, the Rāshtrakūṭas successfully usurping the imperial seat of the Bādāmi Chalukyas. The Āḷupas could not have felt distressed by the extinction of the Chalukya power, for they were no longer their dependents. We have earlier seen Āḷuvarasa II preferring the supremacy of the Pallavas to that of the decaying Chalukya house and then again Chitravāhana II entering the Rāshtrakūṭa camp. The confusion which must have prevailed at the time of the death of one and the birth of another imperial power in the Deccan appears to have interested Chitravāhana II. He was a daring and ambitious prince, as is revealed by the Māvaḷi inscription, and most likely, moved into the Pombuchcha region with designs of earning territorial and political gains. However, the confinement of his rule to the Pombuchcha region and his defeat at Pergguñji show that he was unsuccessful in his bid. This was because the Rāshtrakūṭas had stood up to the challenges of their newly earned status and had soon established the security of their power. Chitravāhana II and, for that matter, no one else among the numerous ambitious chiefs of those days, could find any opportunity for self-aggrandisement.

With Chitravāhana II thus busy in the Pombuchcha region, the ancient seat of his family in Āḷuvakhēḍa appears to have fallen into the hands of another Āḷupa prince, probably his brother, Raṇasāgara by name. After his defeat at the hands of Kākarasa, when Chitravāhana II fell back upon his native kingdom of Āḷuvakhēḍa, his return was subjected to severe contest by Raṇasāgara and his supporters. A handful of undated archaic stone inscriptions from Udiyāvāra and from a few other places in South Kanara bear mute and insufficient witness to this civil war which affected two generations. Their dating is possible only on the basis of a comparative study of their palaeographical features.

EARLY INSCRIPTIONS FROM SOUTH KANARA

Of all the inscriptions, on stone and on copper plates, discussed above with reference to the reigns of Āḷuvarasa I *alias* Guṇasāgara, Chitravāhana I, Āḷuvarasa II and Chitravāhana II, only three hail from the district of South Kanara, the native territory of the Ālupas, namely the Vaḍḍarse inscription of Āḷuvarasa I, the Poḷali-Ammunaje inscription and the Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II. The Vaḍḍarse inscription, though undated, has been assigned above to the middle of the seventh century on grounds of palaeography.

In trying to compare the palaeographical features of inscriptions from South Kanara with those of inscriptions hailing from the other regions of Karnāṭaka, it is essential to take into due consideration the comparatively slow pace of scriptal development which took place in South Kanara on account of its long-standing geographical and political isolation. This distinction is noticeable not only in the field of palaeography but also in the language-form of the inscriptions from South Kanara.

The Udiyāvara inscriptions of Āḷuvarasa II, which we have assigned to the middle of the eighth century, betrays much palaeographical similarity with inscriptions of the same period coming from other adjacent areas of Karnāṭaka. These two inscriptions from Vaḍḍarse and Udiyāvara render themselves easy of palaeographical comparison with the other Kannada records of their periods chiefly because they belong to a period when the Tuḷu country had been maintaining close contacts with the imperial powers of the Deccan. The later inscriptions of South Kanara, upto the time of the Hoysaḷa occupation in the 14th century, reveal quite a few of their own peculiar characteristics, linguistic as well as palaeographical, mainly because they belong to a period during which the rulers of the Tuḷu country were practically left to themselves, barring occasional raids by the forces of the imperial rulers of the Deccan and the Tamilian south.

Reverting to the study of comparative palaeography, the

characters of the Vaḍḍarse inscription compare well with those of the Aihole inscription⁷⁹ of Pulakeśin II of A.D. 634-35, the Yakkeri rock inscription⁸⁰ of the same emperor and of about the same date, the Kurnool plates⁸¹ of Vikramāditya I issued in the third year of his reign i.e. about 656-57 A.D., to consider only a few of the records of the period. Attention may also be drawn to the characters in the Kurnool plates⁸² of the first year of one of Pulakēśin II's sons, Ādityavarman, issued probably towards the close of the former's reign, to which the characters in the Vaḍḍarse inscription bear remarkable similarities. These facts do vindicate the assignment of this inscription of Āḷuvarasa I to the middle of the seventh century.

The Udiyāvara Inscription of Āḷuvarasa II is, on the other hand, written in characters which are comparable to those in the records of the middle of the eighth century. To quote only a few examples, we may allude to the Kāñchī inscription⁸³ of Chalukya Vikramāditya II of about 740 A.D., the Jāvalī copper plate grant⁸⁴ of Gaṅga Śrīpurusha of 750 A.D., the Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription⁸⁵ and the Vakkalēri plates⁸⁶ of 754 and 757 A.D. respectively of the reign of Kīrttivarman II as also the same ruler's Kēndūr plates⁸⁷ of 749 A.D. We thus find that Saletore's contention that the Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II belongs to as early a date as 600 A.D. is not borne out by its palaeography.

We have shown above that Chitravāhana II was expelled from a part of the Pombuchcha region by the forces of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III and that he had no choice but to fall back upon the native kingdom of the Āḷupas, the Tuḷu country.

⁷⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 241.

⁸⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, plate facing p. 8.

⁸¹ *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVI (1883), plate between pp. 234-35.

⁸² *Ibid.*, plate between pages 232-33.

⁸³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, plate facing p. 360.

⁸⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, plates between pages 152-53.

⁸⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, plate facing p. 4.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, plates between pp. 202-05.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, plates between pp. 202-05.

The dynastic rivalries which resulted from this act of Chitravāhana II are brought to light by a few inscriptions from the village of Udiyāvara which, as the then capital of the Āḷupas, was the main scene of the civil strife.

These inscriptions, which refer to the reigns of five rulers including Chitravāhana II, are all undated and, what is more, palaeographically almost all alike. Their palaeographical features are comparable to those of the Māvaḷi inscription of Gōvinda III and Chitravāhana II, which has been assigned above to about 794-95 A.D. on historical and palaeographical grounds. Formations of letters such as *k*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ* etc. are exactly the same in all these inscriptions. But, some of the Udiyāvara inscriptions also contain forms of letters which are comparable to those in the Kumsi stone inscription⁸⁸ of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I dated as late as in Śaka 799=877 A.D. A comparison of the forms of letters such as *r*, *t*, *ṛ*, and *ḷ* will amply justify the above observation. It is thus obvious that the early inscriptions of South Kanara, which are undated but which are palaeographically later in date to the Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II, should be distributed over a long period on account of the fact that the political isolation which followed the expulsion of Chitravāhana II from a part of the Pombuchcha region must have resulted in independent scriptal developments within Āḷuvakhēḍa.

CHITRAVĀHANA II AND THE DYNASTIC FEUDS

It was only natural for Chitravāhana II to retreat beyond the Ghats to his own native kingdom of Tuḷuva after the wrath of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III had dispossessed him of a part of his extra-Tuḷuva possessions. The Āḷupa throne at that time was, however, not empty. We have suggested above that Āḷuvarasa II may have ended his reign in about 765 A.D. Chitravāhana II, who was probably an elder son of Āḷuvarasa II, succeeded him but appears to have stationed himself

⁸⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, part II, plate facing p. 24.

not at Udiyāvara but in the fort of Pergguñji which was situated in the Pombuchcha region. The sway over Udiyāvara and the kingdom for which it was then the capital appears to have rested with another prince, Raṇasāgara, who may have been the younger brother of Chitravāhana II. It is this Raṇasāgara whom we find mentioned in the early inscriptions of Udiyāvara as the contender to Chitravāhana's claims over the Āḷupa throne.

Raṇasāgara is introduced to us through an undated inscription⁸⁹ in Kannaḍa from Udiyāvara. This inscription, engraved on one of the pillars in the court-yard of the Chambukallu temple, records the grant of certain incomes to the royal treasury from the city of Udiyapura to the god in that temple. The presence in Udiyāvara of this purely administrative record of the reign of Raṇasāgara and the absence of such records in the Tulu country belonging to the reign of Chitravāhana II lead us to conclude that with the exit of Chitravāhana from the district of South Kanara to the Pombuchcha region, Raṇasāgara had become the *de facto* ruler of Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000 though Chitravāhana II was still considered to be the *de jure* ruler of the kingdom as is shown by the Māvaḷi inscription.

The period of Raṇasāgara's reign from the date of his accession to that of Chitravāhana II's forced return to Udiyāvara was not however entirely peaceful. The troubles which beset his reign are brought to light by two records, one from Udiyāvara and the other from Kariyaṅgaḷa in the Mangalore Taluk.

Of these, the inscription from Udiyāvara,⁹⁰ which consists of a single Kannaḍa verse, describes, in a vivid manner, the death of a hero in the battle which ensued the attempt of Maygēsa, 'the villian', to force his entry into the city (i.e. Udiyāvara). The other inscription⁹¹ from Kariyaṅgaḷa, which consists of one Kannaḍa verse and also a sentence in prose, records, in equally vivid terms, the death of Nāgamma *alias* Śūdraka, the

⁸⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 284.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 291.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 392.

chief of Kayravamaṣa, at the end of his victory over the combined forces of Pāybaya, in the battle against Mōgiśvara. The sentence in prose declares that Raṇasāgara made a gift of compensation in appreciation of the dead warrior.

Neither of these inscriptions is dated. But, on paleographical grounds, they should be referred to the second half of the eighth century and should be considered as contemporaneous with the Udiyāvara inscription of Raṇasāgara discussed above. This point is further supported by the reference to Raṇasāgara as the adversary of Mōgiśvara in the Kariyaṅgaḷa inscription.

The textual as well as contextual similarities noticed in the Udiyāvara and Kariyaṅgaḷa inscriptions lead to the conclusion that both of them record details of two different battles in the same war. This will mean that Maygēśa and Mōgiśvara were two different forms of the name of one person. However, the identity of this foe of Raṇasāgara is not easy to fix in the present state of our knowledge. It can only be suggested that Mōgiśvara and Maygēśa sound like the corrupt forms of Mṛigēśa*, but no chief of this name is known for the period in question. The battles were not confined only to Udayapura, Maygēśa's attempted entry into which was foiled by Raṇasāgara, but were staged even around the city of Mangalore as is evidenced by the other inscription from Kariyaṅgaḷa which is in Mangalore Taluk. Maygēśa or Mōgiśvara was, in all probability, a local feudatory of the Āḷuṇas who, finding Chitravāhana II away at Pergguṇji and only his younger brother on the Āḷuṇa throne, may have made an attempt at personal aggrandisement. He, however, lost his bid and Raṇasāgara's hold on the capital city of Udayapura as also over the rest of the Āḷuṇa kingdom remained secure.

* Maygēśa and Mōgiśvara could also be corrupt forms of *Mahigēśa* (i. e. *mahige Iśa* = 'Lord of the earth') which is the same as *Dharegēśa*. In case this is true, Maygēśa or Mōgiśvara will be the same as Chitravāhana II and the battles which he fought against Raṇasāgara will be only as part of the dynastic civil war.

Towards the end of the eighth century occurred the return of Chitravāhana II to Udayapura. Raṇasāgara obviously had no intentions of surrendering the throne to the prodigal homecomer and instead decided to stage a trial of strength.

We do not know how Chitravāhana II's military strength as a conqueror compared with that of Raṇasāgara as the defender. It is likely that the former's military assets had suffered a heavy loss in his battle against imperial Rāshtrakūṭa forces at Pergguñji. Nevertheless the initial impact of Chitravāhana's thrust into Udayapura appears to have gained for him temporary control over the capital, without at the same time exterminating his rival, Raṇasāgara. An inscription⁹² from Udiyāvara records the heroic death of an eminent warrior of Chitravāhana, Kāltide by name, son of Vijāṇa-nāyga(nāyaka), in the battle against Raṇasāgara at the time of the entry of the army of the 'Lord of the earth' (*dhareg-iśan*) into Udayapura. The 'Lord of the earth' was, no doubt, the same as Chitravāhana II whose triumph over his adversary is vouchsafed by the presence of this inscription which eulogises the valour of one of his soldiers.

Raṇasāgara apparently fled, unable to defeat the designs of his rival. He was not, however, deterred by the outcome and, on his turn, attacked the city in order to wrest it from Chitravāhana II. Two inscriptions, one from Udiyāvara⁹³ and the other from Kōṭe⁹⁴, both in the Udipi Taluk, bear witness to this renewed struggle. The former records the death of one Nalimaṇi Nāgadikshita, who had routed the forces of Raṇasāgara in the battle which ensued when the latter tried to force an entry into Udayapura.

The Kōṭe inscription records that in the battle fought on behalf of the 'Lord of the earth' (*dhareg-iśan*) at the time of Raṇakīsara's attempted entry into Udayapura, Aṅgupesāra Polega, the warrior of Juddhamalla, displayed great valour and

⁹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 17-18, No. I and plate.

⁹³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 293. Saletore, in pp. 87 and 171 of his *History of Tuluva*, follows the defective text of this inscription as given in *SII.*, Vol. VII.

⁹⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1929, No. 505.

fell fighting. The 'Lord of the earth' is again, no doubt, Chitravāhana II. Raṇasāgara is obviously a mistake for Raṇasāgara. Juddhamalla may have been one of the commanders or some minor prince leading the forces of Chitravāhana II. It is possible that Chitravāhana's long stay outside Tuḷuva had earned for him the alliance and assistance of some minor rulers of principalities adjoining South Kanara. Juddhamalla appears to have been one such. Another short inscription⁹⁵ from Udiyāvara records the death of the hero Medumāṇan who was a servant (*āḷu*) of the illustrious Sāntara. It is known that towards the close of the ninth century the Sāntaras established themselves as the rulers of the Sāntaḷige kingdom with Pombuchcha for their capital.⁹⁶ It is likely that at the time of Chitravāhana's rule from Pergguṇji, Sāntara was ruling over some adjacent principality. The palaeography of the inscription strongly supports the likelihood of Chitravāhana II and Sāntara having been contemporaries. It is likely that the latter rushed to the aid of Chitravāhana II in the wake of Raṇasāgara's stiff resistance. The presence of Sāntara and his army in Āḷuvakhēḍa is otherwise very difficult to explain. The discovery in Udiyāvara and in its vicinity of inscriptions eulogising the heroism of Chitravāhana II's soldiers suggests, by implication, the failure of Raṇasāgara's bid to recapture the Āḷuṇa capital.

At a later stage of the civil war, however, Chitravāhana II disappears from the political arena and we find Raṇasāgara once again in occupation of Udayapura with one Śvētavāhana pitted against him as his rival for the Āḷuṇa throne. On the strength of the *vāhana* ending in his name, this Śvētavāhana may be considered as the son of Chitravāhana II. It is probable that Raṇasāgara persisted in his efforts to regain Udayapura and at last succeeded, though epigraphs bearing witness to his final triumph over Chitravāhana II have not come down to us.

⁹⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 294.

⁹⁶ *Vide, Mysore and Goorg From the Inscriptions*, pp. 138-39. The earliest known inscription of Vikrama Sāntara, who is credited with the founding of the Sāntaḷige kingdom, is A.D. 898 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, Nr. 60).

Chitravāhana II was driven out of Udayapura and was, perhaps, killed in one of the encounters.

We have suggested above that Chitravāhana II and Raṇasāgara, who was probably his younger brother, succeeded to the territorial possessions of their father Āḷuvarasa II almost at the same time, the former at Pergguñji outside Tuḷuva and the later at Udayapura, the native capital of the Āḷupas. They were thus close contemporaries.

Since it has been suggested above that Āḷuvarasa II may have ended his reign in about 765 A.D., and since Chitravāhana II's expulsion from Pergguñji could not have taken place earlier than 792 A.D., the year of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III's accession, the reign period of Chitravāhana II may be tentatively assigned to about 765-800 A.D.

During Āḷuvarasa II's reign, the Āḷupas lost their hold over Kadamba-maṇḍala. During the troubled reign of Chitravāhana II, Āḷupa possessions suffered a further loss. Yet, not all the Pombuchcha region was lost to them as a result of their expulsion from Pergguñji. They were still masters of a part of that region, including the city of Pombuchcha.

RAṆASĀGARA AND ŚVĒTAVĀHANA

The exit of Chitravāhana II did not leave Raṇasāgara in peace and without a rival. An inscription⁹⁷ from Udiyāvara records the death of the hero Kāmakōḍa, son of Viñja Prahāra-bhūṣhaṇa and a servant of Raṇasāgara, in a battle at the time of Śvētavāhana's attempted entry into Udayapura. We find in this inscription Raṇasāgara bearing the epithet *Paṭṭi-oḍeyon* (i.e. the chief of Paṭṭi which is the same as Pombuchcha) indicating thereby that, at the death of Chitravāhana II, he came to consider himself the sole ruler of all his father's possessions.

Another inscription⁹⁸ from Udiyāvara itself, however, reveals that subsequently Śvētavāhana did get the better of Raṇasāgara and secure entry into Udayapura. This inscription,

⁹⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 18-19, No. II and plate.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19, No. III and plate.

without mentioning who the defeated adversary was, records the death of one Dēvu in the battle which was fought at the time of Śvētavāhana's entry into Udayapura. The mention only of Śvētavāhana and the presence of this hero-stone in Udiyāvara itself clearly indicate that Śvētavāhana was successful in his efforts. Raṇasāgara was, in all probability, killed in one of these battles for supremacy, for, we not only do not hear any more of him in inscriptions, but find, on the other hand, one Prithvisāgara engaged in the next phase of the civil war for the Ālupa throne.

It has been suggested above that, like Chitravāhana II, Raṇasāgara too may have succeeded his father Āluvarasa II in about 765 A.D. Since we find Raṇasāgara engaged in battles with Śvētavāhana, who was probably the son of Chitravāhana II, who, according to us, ended his reign in about 800 A.D., Raṇasāgara may be considered to have ruled until about 805 A.D.

With the exit of Raṇasāgara from the scene of this dynastic civil war, a new generation of rival princes, Śvētavāhana and Prithvisāgara, are found contending for the Ālupa throne. An undated inscription⁹⁹, from Udiyāvara records the fact that one Palipare, son of Nandavilmuḍi, fell fighting in the battle which ensued at the time of the entry into Udayapura of Prithvisāgara who had had himself crowned. It becomes obvious from the text of this inscription that Prithvisāgara's coronation had to be celebrated somewhere outside the capital city of Udayapura and that Udayapura itself was at that time under the control of a rival claimant, not named in the inscription. But, it is reasonable to conclude that Prithvisāgara's political and military manoeuvres, recorded in the above inscription from Udiyāvara, were directed against none other than Śvētavāhana himself.

ŚVĒTAVĀHANA AND PRITHVISĀGARA

The *sāgara* ending in Prithvisāgara's name suggests that he was the son of Raṇasāgara. We learn from the Udiyāvara

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, No. IV and plate.

inscription referred to above that his reign started outside the capital city of Udayapura as a challenger to the authority of Śvētavāhana whom he had every reason to consider as an usurper. Śvētavāhana had, in all probability, ousted and killed his father Raṇasāgara. Prithvisāgara's first rebuff to the status of Śvētavāhana as ruler of Āḷuvakhēḍa was his coronation as the rightful sovereign of the Tulu country, which was performed outside Udayapura. His next task was to oust Śvētavāhana from Udayapura and to ensure his own position as the unrivalled occupant of the Āḷupa throne. The Udiyāvara inscription which refers to his coronation also records the earliest battle he fought against his rival after the date of his coronation.

Another inscription¹⁰⁰ from Udiyāvara which refers to Prithvisāgara also as *Āḷupēndra*, records the death of the king's servant Polokku Priyachelva at the time of the entry into Udayapura of the 'Lord of the earth' (*dhareg-iśan*). The 'Lord of the earth' mentioned in the record is none other than Prithvisāgara, who had apparently appropriated to himself even that lofty epithet which had adorned Chitravāhana II. These two inscriptions clearly show that Prithvisāgara was successful in his attempts to regain the throne on which his father had sat earlier. Śvētavāhana, of whom we hear no more, was probably killed in battle by Prithvisāgara.

Śvētavāhana is the third and last of the Āḷupa princes whose names ended in *vāhana* and, if the suggestion made above that he was the son of Chitravāhana II is accepted, he becomes the last representative of the elder branch of the Āḷupa ruling house. In between his victory over Raṇasāgara and his defeat by Prithvisāgara, Śvētavāhana may not have ruled for long and we may tentatively assign to him a reign period of 10 years from c. 805 to c. 815 A.D.

That Prithvisāgara came out victorious from this conflict is not a matter for mere conjecture but is clearly borne out by a third Udiyāvara inscription¹⁰¹ which introduces him as ruling

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20, No. V and plate.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21, No. VI and plate.

from the capital city of Udayapura. This inscription is of importance from more than one point of study. It reveals that with the triumph of Prithvisāgara, the civil war, which had involved two generations of princes, had reached its end. It states, for the first time, that the Ālupas belonged to the lunar race (*Sōma-varṃś-ōdbhava*). Again, after the Shiggaon plates of Vijayāditya and the Polali-Ammunaje inscription discussed above, this is the earliest record to associate the Ālupas with the dynastic name Pāṇḍya by referring to Prithvisāgara as Udayāditya Uttama-Pāṇḍya. It also refers to him as Āluvarasa, thus making him the third of that name.

This inscription records that during Bōygavarma's headmanship of the district (*nāṭṭu-mudime*), Prithvisāgara *alias* Udayāditya Uttama-Pāṇḍya *alias* Āluvarasa (III) confirmed the gift of one half of the tolls both on water and on land, levied in the cities of Paṭṭi and Udayapura to four persons, viz. Singadatta, son of Udayapura-nāyaga, Kumāra Erega, Raṇa-vikrama-nāyaga and Kaṇṇachi, son of Sandavarada. Bōygavarma was apparently administering the region around the city of Udayapura. Udayapura-nāyaga, given as the name of Singadatta's father, may also stand for the *nāyaka* of Udayapura i.e., an officer in charge of the administration of the capital. The gift of a part of the tolls collected at Paṭṭi, which is the same as Pombuchcha, shows that, inspite of Chitravāhana II's expulsion from Pergguṇji, the Ālupas were able to retain effective control over a part of their possessions beyond the Ghats including Pombuchcha.

No dated references to Prithvisāgara have come down to us. With the end of the civil war, a long period of peace set in throughout the Ālupa kingdom. Prithvisāgara may have ruled from about 810 to about 840 A.D. It must be remembered in this connection that his coronation resulted in the Ālupa kingdom having two rulers for a brief period until Prithvisāgara triumphed over his rival. He was succeeded on the throne by Māramma *alias* Āluvarasa IV.

MĀRAMMA

Māramma was in all probability the son of Pṛithvisāgara. He inherited from his father not only the territorial possessions but also a reign of peace. He was left alone without a rival and also without a master. There were no invasions from outside to threaten his safety and status.

Four inscriptions of his have come to us, all of them from Udiyāvara. Their contents pertain to matters of administration and grants, thus bearing witness to the peace and prosperity of his reign.

One¹⁰² of these inscriptions mentions the king merely as Māramma Āḷuvarasar and refers to one Karasī-nāyga as the administrator of Koḷala-nakara which has been identified with Koḷala-giri, a village in the South Kanara District.¹⁰³ The record also mentions Odevura-nakara which is the same as the capital city of Udayapura. We have pointed out earlier in this chapter that Saletore's contention¹⁰⁴ that this Māramma-Āḷuvarasar was Kīrttivarmman's Āḷupa contemporary is untenable. The palaeographical features of this inscription clearly betray the fact that it belongs only to the middle of the ninth century.

The second inscription¹⁰⁵, besides naming the ruler as Māramma Āḷuvarasar, also calls him Vijayāditya-Āḷupēndra and Uttama-Pāṇḍya. While the last name was borne by Māramma's father Pṛithvisāgara also, the name Vijayāditya is applied to him for the first time even as was the case with the name of Udayāditya borne by Pṛithvisāgara. The imperial powers of the Deccan were, at this time, engaged in their own affairs and wars and the resultant sense of security and independence appears to have prompted Māramma to assume high-sounding titles. For, this record glorifies him as *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirājarāja*. Like the Udiyāvara inscription of his

¹⁰² *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 283.

¹⁰³ *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 79 ff.

¹⁰⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 22, No. VII and plate.

predecessor, this record describes the king as belonging to the lunar race.

It records the confirmation of the gift of tolls collected in the cities of Pombuḷcha and Udayapura on grains, cotton, areca-nuts and pepper to four persons. The inscription ends with the statement that it was written by Raṇadhāri.

Māramma is the fourth of the known Ālupa kings to have had the name of Āluvarasa. The third inscription¹⁰⁶ belonging to his reign omits the name Māramma but gives all the others, namely, Vijayāditya Ālupēndra, Uttama-Pāṇḍya and Āluvarasa. The lunar race to which the king belonged as also the sovereign titles of *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirājarāja* are repeated in this inscription. It records that, during Arakella's headmanship of the district, the king confirmed the gift of one half of the tolls levied in the cities of Pombuḷcha and Udayapura to six persons who were agricultural tenants (*okkalu*). Arakella was apparently governing an administrative division around Udayapura.

The fourth Udiyāvara inscription¹⁰⁷ is much worn out. But the name of the king can be made out as Māramm-Ālvarasar. The record is also incomplete but it seems to record the grant of lands by the *padinenṭu-pattana*. The land was situated to the east of the village which is not named (*ūra-pūrvada-keyi*). The record once again mentions the *padinenṭu-pattana* and a certain Ujvalānāyga, probably as the bounden protectors of the grant. Though this inscription does not endow sovereign titles to the ruler and gives him only the honorific *śrī*, it refers to his rule over the earth (*prithvī-rājya*) thus confirming that Māramma was an independent ruler.

That the tolls levied and granted included those from Pombuchcha shows that Māramma had inherited from his father the Pombuchcha region beyond the Ghats in addition to the native Ālupa kingdom. Even as Chitravāhana I's reign

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23 and plate.

¹⁰⁷ This inscription has not been noticed anywhere. I have, however, examined the impression lying with the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

was one of glory and achievements, Māramma's was one of peace and prosperity, as is clearly borne out by the donative nature of his inscriptions. Since we have suggested above that Prithvī-sāgara ended his reign in about 840 A.D., his successor Māramma *alias* Āluvarasa IV may have reigned from about 840 to 870 A.D.

This will be the proper place to discuss an undated inscription¹⁰⁸ from Baṇṭra, a village in the Mangalore Taluk, South Kanara District. The characters and language of the inscription belong to the archaic Kannaḍa variety and are in conformity with contemporaneous records from that region. Though it is not dated, it could be assigned to the middle of the ninth century¹⁰⁹ A.D. As is usual with such early records from South Kanara, the letters do not all of them fall into one particular palaeographical period, some like *y* and *ḷ* showing earlier characteristics and others like *ḷ* and *k* and, in some instances, *y* betraying later developments. Nevertheless, the record does bear comparison, in general, with Kannaḍa records of the said period discovered in South Kanara and, in particular, with the three inscriptions of Māramma *alias* Āluvarasa IV, discussed above.

The inscription records a political agreement entered into by four persons, viz. Nṛipamallarāja, an unnamed Katambha ruler, Rāchamallan-Dugarāja, the beloved brother of Viḷaritta-ḷiyarasa and Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja, the son of Balle-(or Valle-) Oḍeya. The treaty was to the effect that the parties concerned would, in the times to come, discontinue mutual enmity (*page*), vengeance (*paḷi*) and fights (*esage*).

The record commences with the auspicious word *svasti* and immediately refers to the reign of Nṛipamallarāja who is

¹⁰⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 351.

¹⁰⁹ *Vide Ibid.*, where it has been assigned to the eighth century A.D. The above discussion on the Baṇṭra inscription is based on my article published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 23 ff. and plate. Saletore (*History of Tuluva*, pp. 252-53) has made some inaccurate observations on the contents of this epigraph.

eulogised therein as *rāja-kul-āmba-āditya* and *satya-śaucha-vinay-āchāra-saṃpanna*. The passage which follows immediately refers to the universal reign (*prithvī-rājya*) of a ruler whose name it fails to give but who is eulogised as *sakala-guṇa-gaṇālamkṛita* and *Katambha-kul-ōdbhava*. The inscription then records that these two rulers and Rāchamallan-Dugarāja and Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja met in the temple at Sādanūru and, in the presence of witnesses, who are named and who included the physician of Sādanūru and those who arrange for service like playing instrumental music by turns in the temple, concluded the treaty which has been referred to above.

South Kanara was, during the period to which this record belongs, in all probability, under the sway of Māramma *alias* Āḷuvarasa IV. Sovereign titles such as *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirāja-rāja* which he had assumed show that Māramma was the most powerful ruler of South Kanara in his times. It is not improbable, therefore, that Nṛipamallarāja and the unnamed Katambha ruler were his subordinates. It is difficult to say, in the present state of our knowledge, if the *Katambha-kula* was in anyway related to the name of the famous Kadamba dynasty. As for Rāchamallan-Dugarāja and Narasiṅgan-Dugarāja, they appear to have been princes of two minor houses of which Viḷarittaliyarasa and Balle-oḍeya were the ruling members at the time of the conclusion of the treaty.

In all probability, these four rulers were administering adjacent bits of tracts within the Āḷupa kingdom as feudatories of Māramma. The absence of any reference to the Āḷupa ruler does not preclude the possibilities suggested above for, during the Vijayanagara period, when such treaties become more numerous in South Kanara, the inscriptions do not generally mention the Vijayanagara emperors though the Tuḷu country formed a permanent and important part of the empire.¹¹⁰

Strangely enough, the Āḷupas of this period appear to have been involved with the Gaṅgas of Talakād. We do not, however,

¹¹⁰ See, for instance, *ARSIE.*, 1927-28, App. B, Nos. 385-86, 391-94; *Ibid.*, 1930-31, App. B, Nos. 336, 339 and 341.

know if this relationship was friendly or inimical. We have seen that the Baṇṭra inscription mentions Rāchamallan-Dugarāja. Rāchamalla is a name common among the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakāḍ and is the same as Rājamalla. Even the name Nripamalla, occurring in the above record, is only a variant of this Rājamalla.

It is in this context that an undated inscription from Poḷali in Mangalore Taluk gains in importance. While reporting¹¹¹ this inscription it was observed—"States that Arākoli entered fire becoming a victim of calumny at Taḷakāḍu. The memorial stone in his honour was set up by Palyavaṇa and Malaloṇḍaiya." It will be shown presently that the above remarks are inaccurate.

The inscription is to be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the second half of the ninth century. Its writing very closely resembles that of the inscriptions of Māramma and the Baṇṭra inscription discussed above. It states that Palyavaṇa-Aḷigānapa, on hearing of the death of Śēbya Arākellān at Taḷekāḍu, entered the fire (and died) and that the memorial stone was set up by..... dhuru, (an inhabitant) of Malalokkaiyūru.¹¹²

We have seen above that one of the Udiyāvara inscriptions of Māramma refers to one Arakella as the headman of the district, probably the region around the capital city of Udayapura. The Poḷali record refers to one Śēbya-Arākella. It is very likely that Arakella and Śēbya-Arākella were the names of one and the same person. It is interesting to note that two inscriptions, one from Vēṇūr in Karkala Taluk and the other from ulīpāḍi in Mangalore Taluk, refer to the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sēvyagella in the first quarter of the 12th century. Kella appears to have been the name of a minor ruling family in South Kanara and has survived as a surname to this day in that region.

From the Poḷali inscription, it may be concluded that Arakella or Śēbya-Arākella had gone to the Western Gaṅga capital

¹¹¹ *ARIE.*, 1951-52, App. B, No. 152.

¹¹² As a family name, the word *Kella* is of considerable antiquity and prevalent even outside South Kanara. Cf. *ARIE.*, 1963-64, App. A, No. 10. In this copper plate inscription from Honavar, North Kanara District, Chitrasēna, a Kaikeya ruler of the 6th century A.D., calls himself a *kella* and *mahākella*.

of Taḷakāḍu and there, under circumstances which we have no means of knowing, had met with his death. Palyavaṇa Aḷigānapa was probably one of his trusted servants and, unable to bear the news of his masters' death, he sacrificed his own life by entering fire.

The Western Gaṅgas of this period were up in rebellion against the Rāshtrakūṭas.¹¹³ It may be that they had gained the assistance of the Ālupas in holding their own against imperial retaliations. The Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of the Ālupa kingdom, to which reference will be made by and by, seems to lend significant support to this suggestion of an Ālupa-Western Gaṅga alliance. It may also be noted here that the Ālupas and the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakāḍ both contracted marital alliances with the Śāntaras of Sāntaḷige-1000 in the decades which followed.

It is surprising that the peaceful reign of Māramma is followed by almost a century of uncertainty in Ālupa history. The next time we meet with an inscription expressly belonging to the reign of an Ālupa king is only in 968 A.D. to which year the Kadiri inscription¹¹⁴ of Kundavarma belongs. Contrary to expectations the names of the immediate successors of Māramma have to be dug out of inscriptions of an uncertain nature or from inscriptions discovered in areas adjacent to South Kanara.

However, a fragmentary inscription¹¹⁵ from Niḍugundi in Bankapur Taluk, Dharwar District, Mysore State, throws some light on an event which may have brought about this political eclipse in South Kanara. This inscription, which seems to record the grant of compensation (*pariyāra*), probably to some warrior killed in battle, is broken off at the beginning, the name of the king as also the date being entirely lost. The available parts of lines 5-7 read—

¹¹³ *A History of South India*, p. 154.

¹¹⁴ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 191.

¹¹⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1943-44, B. K. No. 26.

- 5 *śrīmad-Indapayyaṁ Bana-*
 6 *mu Ālvakhēḍam-aṟu-sāyi-*
 7 *ttu Neḍugundage panneradāra*

It will be shown below that Indapayya served as the governor of Banavāsi-12000 under Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I and Kṛishṇa II. Therefore, in the above text, *Bana* obviously is to be restored as Banavāsi-12000 and *ttu* as *āḷuttu* (i.e. while ruling over). Indapayya would thus become the ruler of Banavāsi-12000 as also Ālvakhēḍa-6000. We find him mentioned in two more inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Of these, one¹¹⁶ is from Hoṭṭūr, Shiggaon Taluk, Dharwar District. It is undated but belongs to the reign of Nṛipatuṅga. On palaeographical grounds, this Nṛipatuṅga is to be identified with Amōghavarsha I (814-880 A.D.). The record states that *Samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda*, *Sāmant-ādhipati* Indapayya was governing Banavāsi-12000. The other inscription,¹¹⁷ which is from Soraṭūr, Gadag Taluk, Dharwar District and which belongs to the reign of Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa II (880-915 A.D.), the son and successor of Amōghavarsha I, is dated Śaka 805, Śōbhakṛit = 883 A.D. and refers to Indapayya as administering the *nāḍu* by which may have been meant Purigere-nāḍu, within which the findspot of the record, Soraṭūr, was situated or, more likely, Banavāsi-nāḍu itself. In view of the unusually long reign of Amōghavarsha I and in view of Indapayya's mention in 883 A.D. in a record belonging to the subsequent reign, it may be safely concluded that Indapayya served under the Rāshtrakūṭas during the last years of Amoghavarsha I's rule and during the reign of Kṛishṇa II. The damaged inscription from Niḍugundi would thus belong either to the last years of Amōghavarsha I's reign or to the reign of his successor.

The reference in the Niḍugundi record to Indapayya as the ruler of Banavāsi-12000 and Ālvakhēḍa-6000 is of the utmost

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1943-44, B. K. No. 10.

¹¹⁷ *SII.*, Vol. XI, part I, No. 20.

importance to the history of South Kanara. We have seen above that high-sounding titles such as *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirāja-rāja* were borne by Māramma who, in all probability, ended his reign as an independent ruler.

On the basis of the Niḍugundi record, it may be concluded that sometime after Māramma's death, either towards the end of Amōghavarsha's reign or during the early years of Kṛishṇa II's reign, Āḷuvakhēḍa was invaded and subjected to Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy. It is otherwise impossible to explain the role of Indapayya as the ruler of Banavāsi-12000 and Āḷvakhēḍa-6000. It is likely that the Āḷupas had incurred the wrath of the Rāshtrakūṭas by their alliance with the Gaṅgas. While under the Bādāmi Chalukyas, the Āḷupas were ruling not only over Āḷuvakhēḍa but also over Banavāsi-12000, the Governor of Banavāsi-12000 is found ruling over Āḷuvakhēḍa also under the Rāshtrakūṭas. Thus the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūṭas over the Āḷupas which had ceased at the time of Chitavāhana II's expulsion from the Pergguṇji fort is found reestablished towards the end of the ninth century, though, as will be seen below, only for a brief period.

The identity of the Āḷupa ruler who had to face this Rāshtrakūṭa invasion can not be fixed beyond doubt. Nevertheless, an undated and mostly illegible stone inscription¹¹⁸ in the Anantēśvara temple at Udipi, headquarters of the Taluk of the same name, provides us with a plausible answer to this question. This record is so indifferently engraved that it has not been possible to make out its exact readings and purport. The figure, in relief, of a crowned male figure with a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left and, perhaps, a sheath hanging from his hip suggests that the inscription is a hero-stone commemorating the death of a soldier.

The characters, though indifferently engraved, may be confidently assigned to the second half of the ninth century on grounds of palaeography. The formation of letters has

¹¹⁸ *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 307.

much in common with the inscriptions of the Āḷupa king Māramma. It seems to record the death of a hero, whose name was Vimalāḍitya, wrongly engraved as Vimulāḍitya, or of one of his warriors in a battle. The record seems to eulogise the deceased warrior as *raṇa-muppa*, probably meaning 'eminent in war' and seems to record some grant made in his honour.

There is no direct evidence in the text of this inscription to show that it belongs to the reign of an Āḷupa king. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the last two Āḷupa rulers discussed above, viz., Prithvīsāgara and Māramma, bore the secondary names of Udayāḍitya and Vijayāḍitya respectively, it may be suggested here that Vimalāḍitya may have belonged to the Āḷupa family and was the successor of Māramma. If this is accepted, Vimalāḍitya would be the Āḷupa ruler during whose reign Āḷvakhēḍa was conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭas. As will be seen in the pages to come, the Āḷupas were not extinguished as a ruling house by the invaders but appear to have ruled as feudatories for some generations. The title *Sāmant-ādhipati* given to Indapayya supports this conclusion.

Nothing definite can be said about the period of Vimalāḍitya's reign. If he did succeed Māramma in about 870 A.D., he may be deemed to have reigned till about the end of the ninth century.

Amōghavarsha I was of spiritual temperament and, what is more, his long reign was beset with internal revolts. His son and successor Kṛishṇa II, on the other hand, frequently indulged in military exploits, though mostly without success. The Rāshtrakūṭa invasion should, therefore, be better placed in the reign of Kṛishṇa II and also towards the very end of the ninth century.

It was during this period that the Āḷupas suffered the loss of their only extra-Tuḷuva possession, that part of the Pombuchcha region which they had retained even in the wake of Chitravāhana II's defeat at Pergguñji. Sometime towards the close of the ninth century, this region became a part of the newly carved out kingdom of Sāntāḷige-1000 which thenceforward came under

the sway of the Śāntaras. The earliest Śāntara inscription¹¹⁹ from Humcha (i.e. ancient Pombuchcha) is dated Śaka 820=A.D. 898 and belongs to the reign of Vikrama-Śāntara, the founder of the Śāntaḷige-1000 kingdom. Thus, the final confinement of the Ālupas to the limits of South Kanara, which was set in motion at the battle of Pergguñji towards the close of the 8th century, came about towards the end of the 9th century.

Yet another Ālupa ruler is brought to light by an inscription¹²⁰ from Humcha, dated in Śaka 999, Piṅgaḷa=A.D. 1077 and belonging to the reign of the Kalyāṇi Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI. This inscription contains a detailed genealogical account of the Śāntara rulers from its progenitor Rāha upto Nanni Śāntara, the feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. It states that Chāgi Śāntara, son of Vikrama Śāntara and Lakshmīdēvi, daughter of Kāmadēva, the king of Banavāsi, married Eñjaladēvi, the daughter of Raṇaṇjaya, the Ālva ruler. To this Chāgi Śāntara and Eñjaladēvi was born Vīra Śāntara.

Vikrama Śāntara, the father of Chāgi Śāntara, is stated in the above inscription to have consolidated the kingdom of Śāntaḷige-1000. He is represented by two dated records. The earlier¹²¹ of them, from the same village of Humcha, is dated Śaka 820=A.D. 898 and records the construction of a *basadi* and certain gifts made for its maintenance. The second inscription,¹²² from Sālūr, Shikarpur Taluk, Shimoga District, is dated Śaka 825, Dundubhi=A.D. 903 during the reign of Kannara-vallabha i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II (880-915 A.D.). Both these inscriptions refer to the Śāntara ruler as Vikramāditya-Śāntara and the second record further reveals that he was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Since, according to the Humcha inscription of 1077 A.D., Chāgi Śāntara married Eñjaladēvi, her father Raṇaṇjaya, the Ālupa king, may be deemed to have

¹¹⁹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 60.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Nr. 35.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Nr. 60.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 284.

ruled contemporaneously with Chāgi-Śāntara's father Vikrama° or Vikramāditya-Śāntara and with Chāgi-Śāntara himself. This would place Āḷva Raṇaṅjaya in the first half of the tenth century. He may have ruled from about 900 A.D. to about 930 A.D., perhaps as the direct successor to Vimalāditya.

We have seen above that Vikramāditya-Śāntara was a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. It has also been shown above that towards the end of the ninth century, the Āḷupas were subjugated by the Rāshtrakūṭas when, in all probability, Vimalāditya was the ruling Āḷupa king. The marital alliance between the Śāntaras of Sāntaḷige-1000 and the Āḷupas of this period would suggest that the latter continued to be subject to Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy even during Raṇaṅjaya's reign.

Raṇaṅjaya was, in all probability, succeeded by Datt-Āḷupa. Saletore places¹²³ one Dattālpēndra-Śrīmāra as the successor and predecessor of Raṇaṅjaya and Kundavarma respectively and assigns his undated inscription¹²⁴ from Mūḍakēri in Bāra-kūru, Udipi Taluk, to about 959 A.D. This inscription should be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a much later period, and, therefore, this Dattālpēndra is only a later Āḷupa ruler of the thirteenth century bearing the same first name of Datta.

The reign of Datt-Āḷupa, who actually succeeded Raṇaṅjaya, is, on the other hand, brought to light by an interesting stanza in the Kadiri inscription of Kundavarma, already referred to. This stanza reads:—

*Datt-Āḷupam nirākṛitya
balād-viśvāsa-ghātinam |
rājyam svabhujā-vīryyēṇa
grihītam yēna māninā ||*¹²⁵

¹²³ *Ancient Kārnāṭaka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuluva*, p. 93.

¹²⁴ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 314.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 191. In the published text, the reading given is *dattā bhūpam nirākṛitya* etc., which makes no sense. The inked estampage lying with the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore clearly reads, *Datt-Āḷupam* etc.

“By whom, setting aside the traitor Datt-Āḷuḇa by force, the kingdom was obtained by the strength of his own arms.” It will be seen below that this achievement is credited to Kundavarma to whose reign the Kadiri inscription belongs.

It is obvious, from a study of the above stanza, that Datt-Āḷuḇa had actually reigned. We may safely conclude that he ignored the claims of Kundavarma for the Āḷuḇa throne at the time of selecting a successor. This situation, as also the stanza quoted above, inevitably remind one of the Bādāmi Chalukya emperor Maṅgalēśa's attempts at ignoring Pulakēśin II's claims for the throne and the bitter civil war which ensued in its wake.¹²⁶ It may be that Datt-Āḷuḇa, like Maṅgalēśa, was only a brother of his predecessor on the throne, Āḷva Raṇaṇjaya, and that he wanted to appropriate the throne for his own direct issue at the expense of Kundavarma. The vilification of Datt-Āḷuḇa as *viśvāsa-ghātin*, and the claim of Kundavarma that he took the kingdom from him by force (*balāt*), lend overwhelming support to the above suggestion. The dynastic name Āḷuḇa borne by Datta further proves that the war of succession was confined only to the members of that ruling house.

No records belonging to Datt-Āḷuḇa's reign have come down to us. Since his reign appears to have been cut short by Kundavarma, he may be taken to have reigned from about 930 A.D. to about 950 A.D. Datt-Āḷuḇa was succeeded on the throne by Kundavarma.

The reign of Kundavarma marks a new beginning in Āḷuḇa history. We have seen above that of the eleven reigns discussed so far, dated references are available only for the first four reigns, those of Āḷuvarasa I, Chitravāhana I, Āḷuvarasa II and Chitravāhana II. All these dated references are, however, found in records discovered outside the bounds of South Kanara. On the other hand, the Kadiri and Vēṇūr inscriptions of Kundavarma are both dated and are followed by dated inscriptions in large numbers. It is in order to lay stress on this important distinction in epigraphical source-material available in South

¹²⁶ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 5 and 9, verses 14 and 15.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MEDIEVAL ĀḶUPAS KUNDAVARMA

The earliest dated inscriptions from South Kanara, two in number, belong to the reign of Kundavarma ĀḶupēndra, the nephew and successor of Datt-ĀḶupa. Of these, the inscription from the Mañjunātha temple at Kadiri¹, Mangalore Taluk, is written in Sanskrit verse and Grantha characters and is both important and interesting.

This inscription consists of nine stanzas, all of them in the *Anushtubh* metre. Verses 7 and 8 give the date as the Kali year 4068, after the expiry of nine months (i.e. in Makara), when *guru* was in *Kanyārāśi*, during the latter part of the day when the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī. Though the given details of date are insufficient for verification, the intended date most probably is Monday, the 13th of January, 968 A.D. Stanza No. 6 introduces the king Kundavarma ĀḶupēndra as of good qualities, as the 'Lord of the earth' (*mahīpati*), and as a bee at the lotus-feet of Lord Śiva (*Bālachandra-śikhāmaṇi*). Stanzas 1 to 5 are in praise of the ruler. They state, among other things, that he was like a glowing sun to the lotus that was the Lunar race (*Sōma-varṇśa*); that the earth was protected by the strength of his arms; that he had renounced the sin of drinking; that his character was ennobled by (the establishment of) *agrahāras* for *brāhmaṇas*; that he set aside the traitor Datt-ĀḶupa and took from him, by force, the kingdom; that he was like Karṇa in charity, like Arjuna in valour, like Indra in wealth and like Bṛihaspati in knowledge. Stanza No. 9 records that, on the date referred to above, this Kundavarma installed the image of Lōkēśvara at Kadirikā.

¹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 191.

This image of Lōkēśvara has been identified elsewhere² with Bōdhisatva Avalōkitēśvara of the Buddhist pantheon on the strength of the iconographic features of the said image. But neither before nor after the reign of Kundavarma do we come across any reference in available Ālupa inscriptions to Buddhism and Buddhist deities. What is more, the Kadiri inscription extols Kundavarma as *Bālachandra-śikhāmaṇēḥ pādāravinda-bhramaraḥ* i.e. the bee at the lotus feet of Śiva, *Bālachandra-śikhāmaṇi* being only an epithet of Śiva. The image of Lōkēśvara is, therefore, very likely to be that of Śiva. The Buddhist iconographic features of the image may be attributed to the influence of Buddhism on Śaivism; in this connection, the *nātha-panṭha* of Gōrakhnāth may be taken as an example. It is known that this *nātha-panṭha* was deeply influenced by Buddhism.³ The naming of the Kadiri temple after Mañjunātha in an inscription⁴ of Pāṇḍyamahādēvi, of the 12th century, must be attributed to the continued prevalence of some sect of Śaivism, influenced by Buddhism, at Kadiri.

The other dated inscription,⁵ which comes from Vēṇūr, Karkala Taluk, is incomplete and the name of the king is lost. It is, however, dated Śaka 890, Prabhava=A.D. 967-968, thus leaving no doubt as to the fact that it belonged to the reign of Kundavarma. It ascribes to the ruler the interesting epithet *mīna-lāñchchhan-ōpēta*, thus bringing closer the dynastic names of Ālupa and Pāṇḍya. The association of the Ālupas with the latter dynastic name has already been discussed. The other epithets borne by the king are *satya-śauch-āchāra*, *naya-vinaya*, *Vīra-Lakshmī-vāsa-vakshasthaḷa* and *bhṛitya-chintāmaṇi*. After this, the

² *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, Vol. I, p. 84; *History of Tuluva*, p. 383. While unhesitatingly identifying Lōkēśvara with Bōdhisatva Avalōkitēśvara, Saletore, in the same breath, says that Kundavarma was 'thoroughly Śaivite in his faith' and that Bālachandra-śikhāmaṇi was a Śaivite ascetic (*ibid.*, p. 401).

³ Barth: *Religions of India*, p. 213.

⁴ *ARIE.*, 1964-65, No. B 438.

⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 253.

writing is lost. No other records either belonging or assignable to the reign of Kundavarma have come down to us. We may tentatively assign a reign period of 30 years to Kundavarma from about 950 A.D. to about 980 A.D.

Though the two available inscriptions of Kundavarma do not ascribe sovereign titles to him, it is unlikely that he was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Rāshtrakūṭa governor Indapayya's rule over Āḷvakhēḍa is only a stray instance and suggests the short life of their supremacy over the Āḷupa kingdom. The period subsequent to the end of Indra III's reign in 927 A.D. and before the accession of Kṛishṇa III in 939 A.D. was marked by internecine feuds in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire which must have resulted in the weakening of the central power at Mānyakhēṭa.⁶ During the period of this confusion, and probably during the reign of Datt-Āḷupa himself, the Āḷupas had declared their independence. Kundavarma was, in all probability, succeeded by Jayasimha I.

JAYASIMHA I

This ruler is represented by an undated inscription⁷ from Taḷaṅgere, Kasargod Taluk, now in Kerala State. As for its date, the learned editor of this inscription observes⁸: "The specimens of the Grantha and Kannaḍa scripts in the record may be compared respectively with those in the Grantha inscriptions of the 10th century, e.g., Udayēndiram Plates of Bāṇa Vikramāditya⁹ and the Kannaḍa inscriptions of the same period, e.g., the Dēvihosūr inscription of Śaka 884¹⁰ and the Sogal inscription of the reign of Taila II: Śaka 902.¹¹ That the Grantha and the Kannaḍa scripts of the inscription under study can individually be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of

⁶ *A History of South India*, II edn., p. 170.

⁷ *ARIE.*, 1952-53, No. B, 284.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 203-04.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 76 and plate.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 285 ff. and plate.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff. and plate.

the 10th century A.D. leaves no doubt that the epigraph must be assigned to this very period”.

It should, however, be pointed out that the Kannaḍa scripts in the above inscription also bear marked resemblance to the Kannaḍa scripts in the records of the early decades of the eleventh century, e.g., the Kuḷenur inscription¹² of Jayasimha II: Śaka 950. The Taḷaṅgere record may thus be assigned to the end and the beginning of the 10th and 11th centuries respectively.

The Sanskrit verse, with which the inscription commences, traces the descent of the king Jayasimha to Gautama, his son Śaradvat, his brother Śantanu, his son Kṛipa and, after many other kings had adorned the lineage, Śālya. Jayasimha, to whose victorious reign the inscription makes a reference, is described as the crest-jewel among the *Kṣatriyas* and as the abode of the goddesses of Fortune, Learning and Victory. The inscription then records the gift, made by the king, of a piece of land situated in the vicinity of Puttūr to one Mōchabbarasi as *kanyādāna* i.e. gift to a damsel. This land was barren and rocky and was converted into a fertile field by Mōchabbarasi. She constructed a house there, laid a garden and had a moat dug around the place. Towards the end, the record declares that the right of succession to the ownership of the land should devolve on the female issues in the lineage of the excellent Jōgavve and not on the male children; and that, in case there were no female offsprings, the right will pass to the male children.

The inscription itself does not help us in ascertaining the family to which Jayasimha belonged. But in view of the gap which otherwise follows the reign of Kundavarma and also in view of the fact that an Āḷupa king ruling during the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries also had the name of Jayasimha and, above all, in view of the fact that South Kanara was under Āḷupa sway both before and after the period to which the Taḷaṅgere inscription belongs, Jayasimha may be considered as a member of the Āḷupa family and as Kundavarma's successor.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 329 ff. and plate.

Since it has been suggested above that Kundavarma ended his reign in about 980 A.D., we may assign a period of about 30 years from 980 A.D. to about 1010 A.D. for the reign of his successor Jayasimha I.

The absence of paramount titles has been taken elsewhere¹³ as an indication of Jayasimha's subordination either to the Rāshtrakūṭas or to the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. This view does not seem to be correct. It has been shown above that the Āḷupas appear to have utilised the weakening of the Rāshtrakūṭa power after the death of Indra III in 927 A.D. to declare their own independence even during the reign of Datt-Āḷupa. We have nothing on record to show that the Kalyāṇi Chālukyas ever interested themselves in the Āḷupa kingdom prior to the reign of Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126).

On the other hand, danger came to the Āḷupas at this time from an unexpected quarter, the Chōḷas of the Tamil country. In the year A.D. 985, the Chōḷa throne came to be occupied by Rājarāja I who, during his reign for the next three decades, inaugurated a period of unprecedented greatness, social as well as military, in the history of South India. In the course of his many conquests, Rājarāja did not spare the Āḷupa kingdom too. His Balmuri inscription¹⁴ in Kannaḍa, belonging to his 28th regnal year and dated Śaka 934, Paridhāvin = A.D. 1012-13, declares that when Rājarāja started on the march, his general Pañchava-mahārāya displayed the might of his arms by seizing Tuḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, pursuing Maleya and pushing aside and passing over Chēra. The famous Larger Leiden Plates¹⁵ of Rājarāja I, dated in his 21st regnal year (= c. 1006 A.D.) say —

*Jitvā sa Pāṇḍya-Tuḷu-Kēraḷa-Simhaḷendra-
Satyāśray-ādi-nṛpatin = nija-bāhu-vīryyāt¹
ādāya tat-kari-turaṅgama-ratna-rāshṭrāny =
āśā daś = āpi yaśasā dhavaḷī-chakāra¹¹*

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 207.

¹⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Sr. 140.

¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 213 ff., and plates (Verse 31).

‘Conquering the kings of the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu and Kēraḷa (countries and) Sīṃhaḷēndra and Satyāśraya and others by the power of his arm and taking possession of their elephants, horses, gems and kingdoms, he caused all the ten quarters to glow with his fame.’

The victorious general Pañchava-Mahārāya, who conquered, among other countries, the Tuḷuva, is none other than Rājēndra I, the famous successor of Rājarāja I. An undated Āḷupa inscription of this period, which will be discussed in detail presently, indicates that the Chōḷa invasion was not a mere raid but resulted in the temporary occupation not only of the Tuḷu country but of many other adjacent principalities.

BAṆKIDĒVA ĀḶUPĒNDRA

The initiative in ridding the Āḷupa kingdom and its neighbouring regions of Chōḷa aggression was taken by Baṅkidēva Āḷupēndra and his chief ally, the Śāntara ruler. This fact is brought to light by an undated inscription¹⁶ from Bārakūru, Udipi Taluk which palaeographically belongs to the first half of the 11th century. This inscription refers to Baṅkidēva twice and on both occasions lauds him as the *nija-svāmi* (*de facto* Lord) and declares that he established his *de facto* reign over the Tuḷu-vishaya (*Tuḷu-vishayadoḷ nijāñneyaṁ nilisi*). Further down, the inscription records the important fact that Baṅkidēva forced the Chōḷa to retreat (*māri-mēle-vanda Chōḷana daṇḍaṁ beṁ-koṇḍ-aṇṇa* i.e. ‘having turned back and pursued the army of the Chōḷa who had come upon him with hostility’). The inscription also claims that the feet of Baṅkidēva were worshipped by the kings of the seven hills (*maley-ēḷu*) and the Koṁbu. Of these, the former probably included the principalities on the Western Ghats while the latter represented Coorg.¹⁷ The last 8 lines in the record

¹⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 327.

¹⁷ Even to this day Coorg has retained the name of Ēḷu-Koṁbu in local traditions. Also see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. I, *Coorg Inscriptions*, Revised edn., p. 1.

are much worn out but they refer to the reign of a Śāntara king, who had placed 120 *maṇḍalikas* and *mahāmaṇḍalikas* to the care of Baṅkideva's shoulders, over the kingdom of Śāntaḷige-1000.

It is obvious from the contents of this record that a number of chieftains, including the Śāntara ruler, had placed themselves under the leadership of Baṅkidēva in their bid to free their territories from the Chōḷa invasion. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates¹⁸ of Rājēndra I say that he fearlessly crossed the Sahya mountain and immediately attacked the Lord of the Kēraḷa country. The plates further say that in the fierce battle which ensued, several kings were ruined. It is learnt through other inscriptions that Rājēndra's conflict with the Kēraḷa king occurred in his sixth year i.e. in 1018 A.D. The reference to Sahya and to the defeat of several kings suggests that either before or even during the conquest of Kēraḷa, Rājēndra encountered the armies of Baṅkidēva and his allies. That the war itself was staged on a bigger area than the kingdom of Kēraḷa is substantiated by the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates themselves through the claim that Rājēndra annihilated the country protected by the austerities of Paraśurāma (*Bhṛigu-patēḥ tapō-rakshitām prithvīm chhitvā°*). Kēraḷa formed only a part of Paraśurāma-kshētra.

The establishment of Baṅkidēva's *de facto* reign (*nij-ājñe*) over the Tuḷu country may thus be roughly assigned to about 1020 A.D. He and his allies could not have been powerful enough to have actually expelled the strong Chōḷa forces. The latter may have been called in for more urgent service elsewhere, for, Rājēndra, like his father, was a relentless conqueror.

It is not possible to identify the Śāntara ruler who figures in the above inscription. During the period in question, either Ammaṇadēva or his son Tailapadēva was on the Śāntara throne, as will be seen below.

Another stone slab¹⁹ from Bārakūru repeats the text of the above inscription but is lost beyond the 8th line and hence

¹⁸ *SII.*, Vol. III, pp. 383 ff. and plates (*verse* 96).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 328.

reveals nothing new. We have, however, another source of information for the reign of Baṅkidēva in the Humcha inscription²⁰ of A.D. 1077 of the reign of Kalyāṇi Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and his feudatory Nanni Śāntara. This record informs us that Biraladēvi, the daughter of the Śāntara ruler Ammaṇadēva, was given in marriage to Baṅkiyālva and that the latter gave his younger sister, Maṅkabbarasi, in marriage to Tailapadēva, son of Ammaṇadēva and younger brother of Biraladēvi. We have so far only one inscription²¹ belonging to the reign of Ammaṇa and it is dated A.D. 1007 and mentions him as Oḍḍ-Ammaṇa. He was succeeded first by his son Tailapadēva and then by his grandson Bīruga or Vīra Śāntara whose earliest known inscriptions²² belong to A.D. 1062. Thus, the Śāntara throne was occupied during the first five or six decades of the eleventh century by Ammaṇa and his son Tailapadēva. Ammaṇa, who gave his daughter in marriage to Baṅkidēva, was the latter's elder contemporary and may have reigned from about 1000 A.D. to 1030 A.D. His son Tailapadēva, who married Baṅkidēva's younger sister may have ruled from about 1030 A.D. to 1060 A.D. Baṅkidēva's reign itself may be considered to have lasted from about 1020 A.D. to 1050 A.D. The relationship of Baṅkidēva to Jayasīrṇha I is not stated anywhere. It is likely that he was the latter's son.

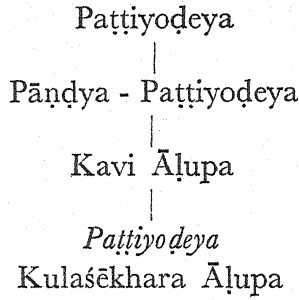
An inscription,²³ from Varāṅga in Karkala Taluk, belonging to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Śāntara and his brother Kuṇḍaṇa, which is the only inscription attempting to give a genealogical account of the Āḷupa family, helps us in identifying the immediate successors of Baṅkidēva. It refers to the reigns of the following four Āḷupa kings:

²⁰ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 195.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 47, 58, 63.

²³ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 526.



Saletore was not aware of the fact that the Varāṅga inscription refers to the reigns of two Paṭṭiyodeyas. He, therefore, made Baṅkidēva the grandfather of Kavi Ālupa and considered Pāṇḍya Paṭṭiyodeya as the latter's only predecessor after Baṅkidēva.²⁴ That portion of the Varāṅga record which refers to Kavi Ālupa's predecessors reads:

*Sōma-vamśadoḷ-anēka-simhāsan-ānantaram Paṭṭiyodeyam
dharmmamam saddharmmadim rakshisidan-allim-baḷiya
Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeyam rājyam-geydu etc.*

It is thus clear that Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya was preceded on the throne by Paṭṭiyodeya. These two names, however, do not appear to have been proper names of the two kings and it will be seen below that Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya's proper name was Jayasimha. We have stated above that some of the early Ālupa rulers were endowed with the epithet *Paṭṭiyodeyon* i.e. 'the possessor of Paṭṭi', Paṭṭi being another name for the city of Pombuchcha. Again, the reference to Kulaśekhara as *Paṭṭiyodeya* in the Varāṅga inscription itself clearly shows that *Paṭṭiyodeya* was only an epithet of the Ālupas.

The Huṁcha inscription of A.D. 1077, referred to above, says that Bīradēva or Vīra Śāntara, the son of Tailapadēva, married Achaladēvi, the daughter of Āḷvara. Besides Maṅka-bbarasi, the younger sister of Baṅkidēva, Tailapadēva had also married Keḷeyabbarasi, the daughter of Gaṅga Pālayadēva and of this latter queen was born to Tailapadēva his son

²⁴ *History of Tuluva*, pp. 98 ff.

Vīra Śāntara. Saletore has suggested²⁵ that Achaladēvi's father was none other than Baṅkidēva himself. It is, however, unlikely that Baṅkidēva gave his daughter in marriage to the son of his own brother-in-law. Moreover, the *sōdarike* custom to which Saletore alludes in this connection, is not applicable here, for the mother of Vīra Śāntara was not Baṅkidēva's sister Maṅkabbarasi.

It is better, on the other hand, to identify Āḷvara, father of Achaladēvi, with Paṭṭiyodeya, Baṅkidēva's successor. Āḷvara may have been another name of Paṭṭiyodeya. For some unknown reasons, the early name of Āḷvarasa was changed into Āḷvara during this period. A few other Āḷupa rulers, who came after Paṭṭiyodeya, also had the name of Āḷvara besides their own names.

A much damaged inscription²⁶ from Udiyāvara belongs to this period. It is dated Śaka 980, Viḷambi, Chaitra śu. 15, Saturday=A.D. 1058, March 14, F.D.T. .05. The legible portion of the record makes no reference to any Āḷupa ruler but mentions *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāya Śāntaradēva²⁷ who may be identified with Vīra Śāntara who, as stated above, had married the daughter of Paṭṭiyodeya *alias* Āḷvara. The inscription also mentions the tender of Rāya Śāntara's war-horses (*daṇḍa-sāhaṇi*) whose name, however, is lost.

Saletore has assigned²⁸ this record to the reign of Baṅkidēva on the assumption that the wrong reading Rāya Sāltiratta refers to Baṅkidēva. He also makes the unacceptable suggestion that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and *riṣaṇa-daṇḍasā* should be changed to read *Mahāmaṇḍalika* and *dakṣiṇa-bhujā-daṇḍa* and then applied as titles to Baṅkidēva.

The Varāṅga inscription offers lofty praises to Paṭṭiyodeya. His fame had penetrated deep into all the quarters; he was

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 229 ff.

²⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 278.

²⁷ *vide, ibid.*, where it has been wrongly read as *Rāya Sāltiratta*.

²⁸ *History of Tuluva*, pp. 97-98.

incessantly engaged in the destruction of the vice and the protection of the good and thus mirrored the spirit of the maxim *Rāja-rakshitam dharmmam* in all his acts. No dated references are available for his reign. He may be considered to have reigned from about 1050 A.D. to 1080 A.D. and may be considered to have been the son of his predecessor Baṅkidēva I.

Before proceeding to the next reign, we may discuss here the information contained in an inscription of the Goa Kadambas and in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* about the Ālupas. The inscription²⁹, from Halsi, belonging to the joint-reign of the Goa Kadamba rulers Śivachitta and Viṣṇuchitta of the 12th century, while eulogising their ancestor Jayakēśin I (A.D. 1050-1080), says —

yaś-Chālukyam nijē rājyē
sthāpayan-vijit-Ālupah ¹
Kadāmbita-kadāmbō = 'lām-
krit-ārthi-kritavān Prabhuḥ ¹¹

'Assembling the Kadambas and conquering
 Ālupa, he established the Chālukya in his
 kingdom and became a most successful king.'

The beginning of the verse obviously refers to Jayakēśin I's assistance rendered to Vikramāditya VI in defeating his brother Sōmēśvara II before his accession in 1076 A.D.³⁰ From the composition of the above stanza, we are led to believe that Jayakēśin's invasion of the Ālupa kingdom had been accomplished even before 1076 A.D., when Paṭṭiyodeya was on the Ālupa throne.

It may be that the vanquished Ālupas dared not invite further invasion upon their territory for, the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*³¹ informs us that Vikramāditya VI helped in increasing the prosperity of the *Ālupendra* who had renounced the fancy (for inde-

²⁹ *JBBRAS.*, Vol. IX, pp. 278 and 282.

³⁰ *vide*, *The Kadambakula*, pp. 182-83.

³¹ Chapter V, verse 26.

pendence) (*Āḷupēndram* = *avadāta-vikramas-tyakta-chāpalam* = *asāv-avar-dhayat*). The allegiance of the Āḷupas to the Kalyāṇi Chālukyas, however, appears to have been of a very superficial nature. For, as will be seen below, the Āḷupa rulers continued to receive sovereign titles in their epigraphical records.

PĀṆDYA PAṬṬIYOḌEYA

An undated inscription from Poḷali in the Mangalore Taluk belongs to the reign of Paṭṭiyodeya's successor, Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya.³² This record is to be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the end of the eleventh century. It mentions the king as Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva and endows him with sovereign titles such as *samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *bhaṭṭāraka*.

Another interesting inscription³³, from Karaḍi in the Tiptur Taluk of Tumkur District, belonging to the reign of Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 1110-1150) and dated in Śaka 1036, Jaya, Chaitra śu. 1, Saturday = A.D. 1115, February 27 has a bearing on the reign of Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya. In order to correct the wrong interpretation given to it so far, it is necessary to quote the relevant portions of the text hereunder:

. *Setti-gāvunḍan Āḷuvakhēḍav-aṟu-sāsiradalu nigaḷav-ikki Jayasiṅg-Āḷuvarana munde surige-gāḷagavaṁ kādi gelubandu Kariviḍi-Hirūralu gāvunḍutanam geyyuttam-ire Śaka-kālada 1036 Jaya-samvat-sarada Chaitra-śuddha pāḍiva Vaḍḍa-vārad-aṁdu Sīre-nāḍa Halikāra-nāyakaru bandu tamma turuvam pariyaṣalu bhujā-baḷadim tāne kādi palaran-iṟidu turuva-maḡuḷchi sura-lōka-prāptan-āda*'

While rendering the above passage in English, Lewis Rice misunderstood³⁴ the expression *Āḷuvakhēḍav-aṟu-sāsiradalu nigaḷav-*

³² *ARSIE.*, 1927-28, No. 374. Saletore (*History of Tuluva*, p. 99) attributes this record to the previous reign because he was not aware of the fact that the Varāṅga inscription refers to two separate reigns, namely those of Paṭṭiyodeya and Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya.

³³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 81.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Translations, p. 59.

ikki to mean 'on the Āḷuvakhēḍa people taking prisoners in the thousand.' He also misread the expression *Jayasiṅg-Āḷuvarana munde* as *Jayasiṅgāḍuvarana munde* and took it to mean 'in front of Jayasiṅgāḍu'. These mistakes have inevitably misled scholars in their subsequent assessment of the historical import of this inscription both with reference to the Hoysaḷas and the Āḷuṇpas.

Saletore, for instance, concluded³⁵ that the Āḷuṇpas invaded the Hoysaḷa territory, took prisoners in the Thousand and, in the battle which ensued, killed Setṭi-gāvunḍa who was at that time holding the office *gāvunḍa* in Kariviḍi-Hirūr.

William Coelho correctly suggests³⁶ that Setṭi-gāvunḍa was holding the office of *gāvunḍa* in Kariviḍi-Hirūr after his return from his victorious encounter with the Āḷuṇpas but he sticks to the wrong statement that the above encounter took place in front of Jayasiṅgāḍu.

Derrett, in his turn, identifies³⁷ the Thousand (*Sāsira*) with Sāntaḷige-1000 and suggests that the region was invaded by the Āḷuṇpas.

As a matter of fact, *Āḷuvakhēḍav-aṇu-sāsiradalu nigaḷav-ikki* actually means 'having pressed against (the territory of) Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000'. It is thus clear that Setṭi-gāvunḍa was not defending Hoysaḷa territory or the principality of Sāntaḷige-1000 against Āḷuṇpa invasion but that he had led an invading army into the Āḷuṇpa kingdom itself. The inscription informs us that his expedition into Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000 was successful and that, on his return from the same, he had been holding the office of *gāvunḍa* in Kariviḍi-Hirūr until his death in the battle against the cattle-raiders, which must have taken place not long before the date to which the record belongs. The epigraph gives us another important information, namely, that Setṭi-gāvunḍa's Āḷuṇpa adversary was Jayasiṅga-Āḷuvara.

³⁵ *History of Tuluva*, p. 270.

³⁶ *Hoysaḷa Vamśa*, p. 80.

³⁷ *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 46.

The date of the inscription, thus, refers to Setṭi-gāvunḍa's death in a different and later battle. His tussle with Jayasiṅga Āḷuva had taken place sometime before Setṭi-gāvunḍa had assumed the office of *gāvunḍa* in Kariviḍi-Hirūr. There is also epigraphical evidence to prove that the Hoysaḷas invaded the Āḷupa kingdom sometime before A.D. 1107, even when Viṣṇuvardhana was only a prince. This evidence is furnished by an inscription³⁸ from Hirahaḍagalli, Hadagalli Taluk, Bellary District. This epigraph is dated in Chālukya-Vikrama year 31, Sarvajit, Chaitra Amāvāsyā, Sūrya-grahaṇa = A.D. 1107, March, 25, Monday, f.d.t. .36 and records gifts by a number of persons who were in the service of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. One such donor is Vīra Viṣṇu Tribhuvana Poysaladēva (i.e. Viṣṇuvardhana himself), eulogised in the record as having conquered, among other countries, Tuḷu-dēśa by the mere raising of his eyebrows (*Tuḷu-dēśam bhrū-bhaṅgadim koṇḍu*). The next verse in the same record again refers to his conquest of Tuḷunāḍu. Setṭi-gāvunḍa being only an official under the Hoysaḷas, as is shown by the Karaḍi inscription, the Hirahaḍagalli inscription probably refers to this very same invasion of Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000 by Setṭi-gāvunḍa. At any rate, Setṭi-gāvunḍa's invasion did not result in the loss of territory for the Āḷupas, for Hoysaḷa records of this period say³⁹ that the Hoysaḷa kingdom was bounded on the West by Āḷvakhēḍa.³⁹ Also, it appears that Viṣṇuvardhana carried out this invasion more as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI than on his own and this must, therefore, be deemed as having preceded a second invasion, to be discussed below.

The reign of Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya is represented by another undated inscription from Kariyaṅgaḷa in Mangalore Taluk. On grounds of palaeography, this record also is to be assigned to the end of the eleventh century. It refers to the king as Kumāra-Pāṇḍya Jayasiṅgarasa, describes him as *samastabhuvana-vikhyāta* and *Sōma-kula-tilaka* and ascribes to him the sovereign

³⁸ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 118.

³⁹ *vide*, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Bl. 199.

titles *Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. It records the gift, by the king, of a piece of land called *Paṇḍikara* to the goddess Hoḷala-Bhaṭṭaraki.

This assumption of sovereign titles by Jayasiṅga shows that he was an independent ruler. The genealogical details contained in the Varāṅga inscription and the palaeographical similarities of the inscriptions of Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva and Jayasiṅgarasa, discussed above, leave little room for doubt as for the identification of these names with one and the same ruler. We may tentatively assign a reign period of 30 years from about 1080 A.D. to 1110 A. D. for Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiyodeya *alias* Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva *alias* Jayasiṅgarasa. Since another Jayasiṃha had ruled over the Ālupa kingdom a century before him, this ruler becomes Jayasiṃha II.

KAVI ĀLUPĒNDRA

We learn from the Varāṅga inscription, that the next Ālupa ruler was Kavi-Ālupēndra. His earliest inscription,⁴⁰ from Udiyāvara, is dated Śaka 1036, Jaya⁴¹ = A.D. 1114-15 and is badly worn out and illegible but contains reference to *Kumāra* Udayādityarasa and the setting up of the memorial stone. *Kumāra* Udayādityarasa was obviously a prince of the Ālupa house and may have been a son of Kavi Ālupēndra.⁴²

⁴⁰ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 290.

⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, where the cyclic year is wrongly given as Vijaya. The subscript *v* in *svasti* in the line above was mistaken therein for *vi* at the beginning of the second line.

⁴² Saletore opines (*History of Tuluva*, pp. 99 and 101) that this Udayādityarasa was the father and predecessor of Kavi Ālupēndra. He also assigns (*ibid.*, pp. 101 ff.) a total of seven inscriptions to the reign of Kavi Ālupēndra. Of these only four belong to the reign of this king. The rest of the inscriptions are to be assigned as follows:

1. Uppūru Inscription (*ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 488): this record belongs to the reign of a Pāṇḍyadēva and does not mention the epithet *Pāṇḍyachakravartti* as claimed by Saletore. On palaeographical grounds it is to be assigned to the 13th century.

The next inscription⁴³ belonging to the reign of this ruler is from Kōṭakēri in Bārakūru and is dated as late as in Śaka 1062, Siddhārthi, from the month of Vaiśākha, probably = A.D. 1139, April 1 onwards. This inscription gives the king the only epithet of *bhuja-bala*. It records the establishment by the king of the *Śivānanda-yōgi-nivēdya-sāle* in the temple of Mārkaṇḍēśvara and the gift of 30 gold pieces called *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa*, being the income from certain taxes, along with the interest amount, to Toḷaha of Sūrala, obviously for maintaining the above *nivēdya-sāle*. The reference to Toḷaha in the record is interesting. Sūrala is the same as modern Surāl in Udupi Taluk, the region around which came under the rule of a family of chieftains known as the Toḷahas during Vijayanagar times.

To the period in between the dates of the Udiyāvara and Kōṭakēri inscriptions of Kavi Āḷupēndra belong two dated inscriptions, one from Vēṇūr⁴⁴ in Karkala Taluk and the other from Uḷipāḍi⁴⁵ in Mangalore Taluk. Of these, the Vēṇūr inscription, dated Śaka 1040, Viḷambi, Kārttika Amāvāsyā, Wednesday = A.D. 1118, November 15 (the weekday being Friday) refers to the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sēvyagellarasa over Pūmjāḷike and Chālūḷke. The Uḷipāḍi inscription, which is much damaged, is dated Śaka 1041, Viḷambi, *vyāḷa* in Makara, Wednesday, Uttarā-nakshatra, Pūrṇimāse. The details of date given are irregular but the intended date fell between A.D. 1118, December 25 and A.D. 1119, January 22. This record also refers to the reign of Sēvyagellarasa over two regions (*eraḍunela*), probably Pūmjāḷike and Chālūḷke. Pūmjāḷike is the region around modern Puñjalkaṭṭe near Vēṇūr which, in the 17th century, was under the sway of a queen named Madurakadēvi

2. Likewise, the Beḷuvāyi inscription (*SIL.*, Vol. VII No. 237) belongs to the reign of a Pāṇḍyadēva and is, palaeographically, of the thirteenth century.

3. The Kōṭakēri inscription (*ibid.*, No. 380) also belongs to the reign of Pāṇḍyadēvarasa and to the 13th century.

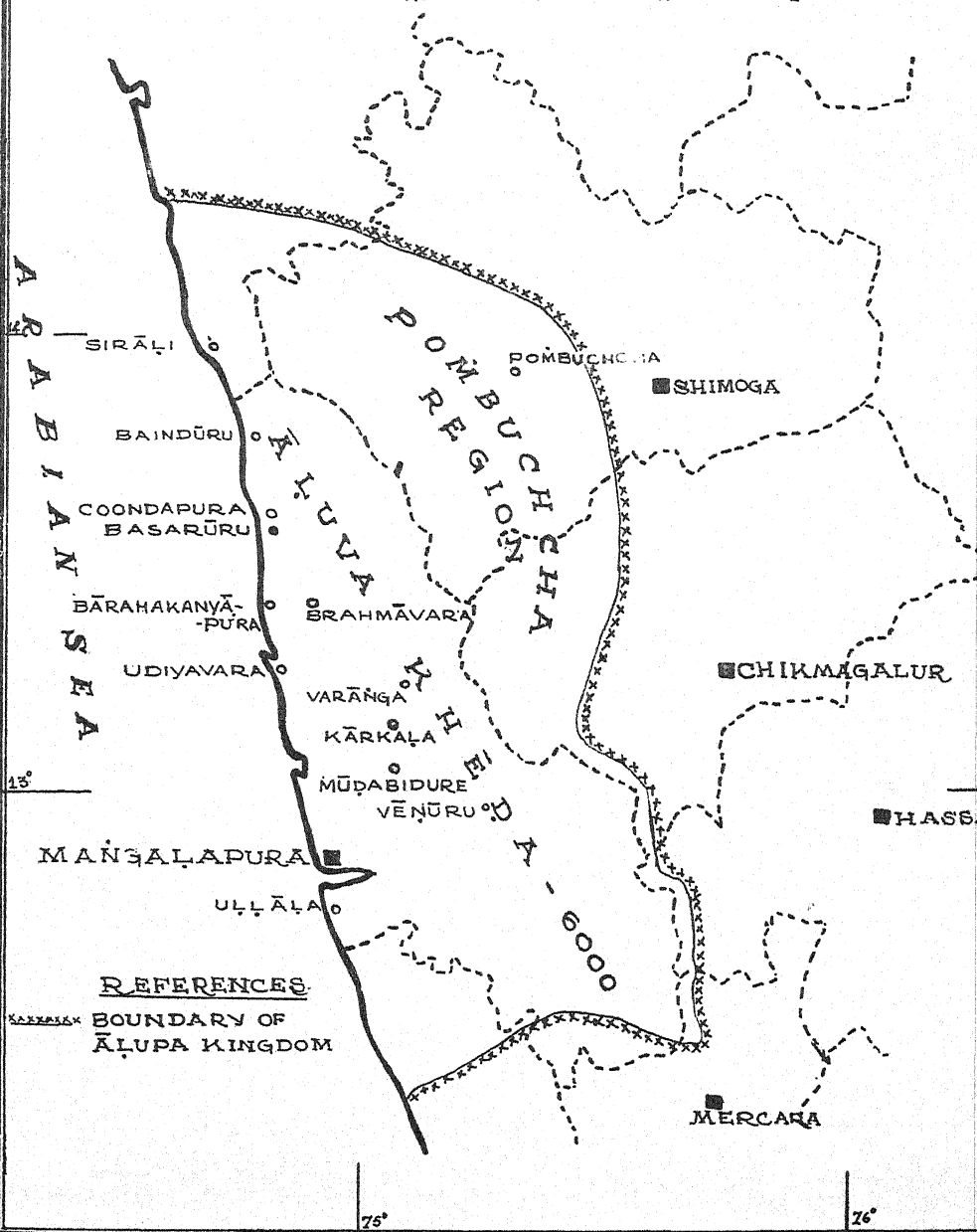
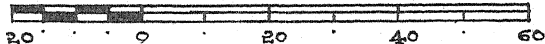
⁴³ *SIL.*, Vol. VII, No. 381.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 285.

⁴⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 531.

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and was then known as Puñjalikeya-rājya.⁴⁶ It also finds mention in an earlier inscription⁴⁷, of the 16th century, as Puñjaliya-rājya. The other region, Chālūlke, may have stood for the area around Uḷipāḍi, the find-spot of the second inscription of Sēvyagella.

Sēvyagellarasa was apparently a local chieftain and a feudatory of Kavi Ālupendra. This suggestion is supported by the title *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* given to Sēvyagella as against the sovereign titles which the Ālupas were wont to receive. It has already been pointed out that *kella* is an ancient family name.

We have two more records belonging to the reign of Kavi Ālupendra, one from Basarūru⁴⁸ in Coondapur Taluk and the other from Kōṭakēri⁴⁹ in Bārakūru.

The Basarūru inscription is dated Śaka 1077, Bhāva, Dhanus-Samkramaṇa, probably = A.D. 1154, November 25, Thursday. This record ascribes to the ruler the epithets *bhuja-baḷa* and *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* and registers the grant, by one Maunayōgi, in the presence of the *Nakhara*, of gold pieces called *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa* for conducting worship to the deity Nakharēśvara of Basurepura (i.e. Basarūru, the find-spot of the inscription) in Hosapaṭṭaṇa.

The Kōṭakēri inscription is dated Śaka 1077, Yuva, Karkaṭaka, Prathamā, Monday = A.D. 1155, June 27. In this record the king receives the full array of sovereign titles, namely, *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*, *bhuja-baḷa*, *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Prithvīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and is stated to be ruling from the capital city of Bārahakanyāpura (i.e. modern Bārakūru.) It records the gift, by one Sājirāṇa, a native of Kashmir, of the purchase-money of a land in Pannīrppalli for conducting service to the deity Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The inscription then makes the stipulation that the grant thus made should be looked after and protected by the king

⁴⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 255.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 257.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 393.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 376.

(*śrīmad-arasarū*), the minister (*pradhāna*), the *herggaḍe*, the *nagara-samūha* and the queen Pāṇḍyamahādēvi who was ruling over the village (*ūru*). Pāṇḍyamahādēvi's relationship with Kavi Ālupēndra is not stated in the record. She may have been a queen of Kavi Ālupēndra.

We get references to Kavi Ālupēndra's reign in inscriptions from outside the Tuḷuva too. The most important of these pertains to the invasion of the Ālupa kingdom by his militant Hoysaḷa contemporary Viṣṇuvardhana. We have seen that even as early as in 1107 A.D., when he was only a prince, Viṣṇuvardhana claimed to have conquered Tuḷuva by the mere raising of his eyebrows. Some years later, for reasons not stated anywhere, Viṣṇuvardhana invaded the Ālupa kingdom for a second time. His inscriptions⁵⁰ belonging to 1117 A.D. when he had been king for seven years, eulogise him as *utpāṭita-Ghaṭṭa-kapāṭan* ('the feller of the door leading below the Ghāṭs') and *Tuḷu-nṛipāḷa-hṛidaya-vidalana-ṛanakēli* ('he who burst the hearts of the Tuḷu kings in the game of war'). An inscription⁵¹ of Narasiṃha I (1152-1173) dated in A.D. 1155 informs us that Viṣṇuvardhana's general who conquered the Tuḷu king was *mahāpradhāna, sēnādhipati, hiriya-haḍavaḷa* Bōkimayya. Since Viṣṇuvardhana ascended the throne in A.D. 1110 and since the claim for his second Tuḷuva conquest is made in 1117 A.D., it is apparent that the Ālupa king who had to face this invasion was none other than Kavi Ālupēndra. That this Hoysaḷa invasion did not result in any territorial annexation is proved by the fact that the very same inscriptions which record Viṣṇuvardhana's conquest of the Tuḷuva, also record that his possessions were bound on the west by the Bārakanūra-Ghaṭṭa and also omit to include the Tuḷuva in the long list of his permanent conquests.

An undated inscription⁵² of Jagadēkamalla II (A.D. 1138-1155) from Hēmāvati, Anantapur Taluk and District, Andhra Pradesh, mentions his feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Iruṅgōḷa-

⁵⁰ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Part I, Bl. 58 and 71.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Hn. 69.

⁵² *SIL*, Vol. VI, No. 555.

chōḷadēva as the husband of one Āḷpadēvi whose virtues are therein eulogised. Iruṅgōḷachōḷa appears as the feudatory of the Kalyāṇi Chālukyās as early as in 1125 A.D.⁵³ and upto 1140 A.D.⁵⁴ His queen Āḷpadēvi, as her name indicates, may have hailed from the Āḷuḷa house, and she was perhaps either the sister or the daughter of Kavi Āḷupēndra.

Since the earliest and latest available dates for Kavi Āḷupēndra fall in 1114-15 A.D., and 1155 A.D. respectively, he may be tentatively taken to have reigned from about 1110 A.D. to 1160 A.D.

The reference in Kavi Āḷuḷa's Kōṭakēri inscription to Bārakūru as the Āḷuḷa capital is interesting. While this record belongs to A.D. 1155, his earliest inscription, of A.D. 1114-15, is from Udiyāvāra. In view of this, it may be suggested that sometime during his reign, after A.D. 1114-15, Kavi Āḷuḷa shifted the Āḷuḷa capital from Udiyāvāra to Bārakūru.

KULAŚĒKHARA ĀḷUPĒNDRA

According to Saletore⁵⁵ Kavi Āḷupēndra was succeeded by Jagadēvarasa. He bases this assertion on an inscription⁵⁶ from Bairāpur, Sagar Taluk, Shimoga District. This record is dated in the 19th regnal year of Vira Śāntaradēva, Tāraṇa, Vaiśākha śu. 5, Thursday in the reign of Bijjaṇadēva. The latter is obviously the same as Kalachuri Bijjaḷa in which case the cyclic year Tāraṇa and the month of Vaiśākha fell in 1164 A.D., March-May. The other details of date given in the record are, however, irregular. That portion of the inscription with which we are concerned is unhappily worded but definitely pertains to a battle in which the forces of *hiriya-daṇḍanāyaka* Araḷaya, the governor of Banavāse-12000, Bīrarasa, the chief of Hosagunda, Siṅgidēva of Hombuchcha, the Āḷuḷa king from below the Ghats and Jagadēvarasa were involved.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 209.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 234.

⁵⁵ *History of Tuluva*, pp. 112 ff.

⁵⁶ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1930, pp. 223-26.

Vīra Śāntara's inscriptions, so far discovered, range in date from 1157 A.D.⁵⁷ to 1191 A.D.⁵⁸ Siṅgidēva of Hombuchcha and Jagadēvarasa were the grandsons of Vīra Śāntara and their records fall within the known dates of their grandfather and, in the case of Jagadēvarasa, even beyond. Bīrarasa of Hosagunda was a feudatory of Vīra Śāntara and is identical with Bīrarasa of an inscription⁵⁹ of 1179 A.D.

A passage in the Bairāpur inscription which reads *Ghaṭṭada-keḷagaṇa Āḷvarasu Jagadēvarasan-oḷag-āgi* has been mistaken to mean 'including Jagadēvarasa, the Āḷupa king from below the Ghats'. The correct import of the passage, however, is 'including Āḷvarasa from below the Ghats and Jagadēvarasa'. Thus, while Jagadēvarasa of this inscription is only a prince of the Śāntara house, the Āḷupa king is merely referred to as Āḷvarasa. In view of the statement in the Varāṅga inscription that Kavi-Āḷupēndra was succeeded by Kulaśēkhara Āḷupa, it is only proper that Āḷvarasa of the Bairāpur inscription is identified with Kulaśēkhara.⁶⁰

Like his predecessor, Kulaśēkhara also had a long reign. The inevitable conclusion is that both Kavi Āḷupēndra and Kulaśēkhara were quite young when they were raised to the throne.

The earliest available inscription⁶¹ for the reign of Kulaśēkhara is from Basarūru in the Coondapur Taluk and is dated in the cyclic year Manmatha, Makara 18, Monday. On palaeographical grounds, the cyclic year Manmatha is to be referred to A.D. 1175-76, and the given details of date regularly correspond to A.D. 1176, January 12. This record endows the ruler with all the sovereign epithets and titles of the Āḷupas, viz., *samastabhuvanavikhyāta*, *Sōmakulatilaka*, *Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*. The other

⁵⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 41.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Part I, Sh. 116.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 20.

⁶⁰ Unable to reconcile his theory with the information contained in the Varāṅga inscription, Saletore (*History of Tuluva*, p. 123) merely says that the absence of Jagadēvarasa's name in the genealogical account contained in the Varāṅga inscription is 'for the present inexplicable'.

⁶¹ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 394.

details of the record are badly damaged but the inscription seems to register some gift made to the god Nakharēśvaradēva of Basurūra-paṭṭaṇa.

Next in date among the known records of Kulaśēkhara is an inscription⁶² from Mangalore, dated in the cyclic year Raktākshi Mēsha 13, Sunday. On palaeographical grounds, the cyclic year is to be referred to A.D. 1204 and the given details of date regularly correspond to April 4, Sunday.⁶² This inscription records the interesting fact that the king, who was ruling from the principal palace at Maṅgalūru, called Bhuvanāśraya, gave (as a fief) to his nephew (*aḷiya*) Baṅkidēva, the division known as Mugaru-nāḍu and that, on that occasion, the uncle and his nephew made some gifts to the god Baṅkēśvara-dēva. The record ends with the statement that good will come to the donor Kulaśēkhara and his nephews Baṅkidēva, Baṁma-dēva and Kulaśēkhara. We learn from this inscription that Maṅgalūru, which had been the capital of the Ālupa kingdom during the 7th - 8th centuries, was once again made one of the capital cities by Kulaśēkhara.

Two more inscriptions belonging to Kulaśēkhara's reign have been found at Mūḍabidure in the Karkala Taluk. Of these, the earlier inscription⁶³ is dated Śaka 1127, Krōdhana, Mēsha 17, Sunday = A.D. 1205, April 10 and refers to the king as *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* Kolaśēkhar-Ālpēndradēva. It mentions his *mahāpradhāna*, whose name is lost, and seems to record a gift of land by three persons to Durgādēvi.

The other inscription⁶⁴ is dated in the Kali year 4315 (expired) 4316 (current), Kēśava-māsa 1, Vaḍḍavāra, probably = A.D. 1215, April 25, Saturday. This inscription is badly worn out but seems to record gifts to the goddess Durgādēvi.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 185. Here the date has been wrongly read as 12 instead of 13. Saletore (*History of Tuluva*, pp. 148 ff.) assigns this record to A.D. 1444. But the palaeography of the inscription and the details of the date given therein go against this.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, No. 223.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 222.

The Varāṅga inscription informs us that Kulaśēkhara's queen was Jākalamādēvi and that she had a tank dug out at Varāṅga and performed many acts of charity. The Varāṅga inscription is a Jaina record. In A.D. 1246 and 1247, we hear⁶⁵ of a Jākala Mahādēvi ruling over the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa principality from her capital at Kaḷasa, very near the borders of the Āḷupa kingdom and situated in the Chikamagalur District. The Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa rulers were Jains by religion. It is not, however, possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to say if Kulaśēkhara's queen was a princess of this minor ruling family and whether she is to be identified with the Jākala Mahādēvi referred to above.

Since Kavi Āḷupēndra has been taken to have ended his reign in about 1160 A.D., and since Kulaśēkhara's latest record is dated in 1215 A.D., the latter may be deemed to have reigned from about 1160 A.D. to 1220 A.D.⁶⁶

KUNḌAṆA

The Varāṅga inscription provides us with the interesting information that Kulaśēkhara was succeeded by Kuṇḍaṇa, the younger brother of Vira-bhūpāla who was himself the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla Śāntara. The last mentioned is the same Vira Śāntara whose known inscriptions, as has been pointed out above, range in date from 1157 A.D. to 1191 A.D. The inscriptions of the Śāntaras do not tell us anything about his younger brothers, Vira-bhūpāla and Kuṇḍaṇa.

The text of the Varāṅga inscription is clear and unambiguous in its narration. After referring to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Śāntara, to whom it bestows a long string of

⁶⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Mg. 65, 66 and 70.

⁶⁶ Such succession of long reigns, as suggested for Kavi Āḷupēndra and Kulaśēkhara, are not unknown to South Indian history. The sixtyfour years of Pallava Nandivarman II's reign (A.D. 731-95) was followed by 50 years of his son Dantivarman's reign (795-845 A.D.). Pāṇḍya Neḍuṅgaḍaiyan (756-815 A.D.) and his son Śrīvallabha (815-862 A.D.) ruled respectively for 59 and 47 years.

titles and epithets, the inscription says—*ā mahībhujā-nij-ānujan-apār-ōdāra-sauryy-āchāra-Vīra-bhūpālanim kirīyan-appa Kuṇḍaṇa-kshōṇi-pāḷan*. The record then gives him the titles *Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya* and *Pāṇḍya-Dhananjaya* and says that he made a grant of the great city (*mahā-pura*) of Varāṅga in his Āḷva country (*tann-Āḷva-dēśadoḷ*). It also records a grant of land by Kuṇḍaṇ-ōrvvīśvara. It is thus clear from the Varāṅga inscription that Kulaśēkhara was succeeded by Kuṇḍaṇa of the Śāntara lineage.

Saletore, on the other hand, says⁶⁷ that Kulaśēkhara's successor was *Nūrmmaḍi-Chakravartti*. This is not the proper name of a ruler but is given in the Varāṅga record as one of the many epithets of Tribhuvanamalla Śāntara, the eldest brother of Kuṇḍaṇa.

The circumstances which raised Kuṇḍaṇa to the Āḷupa throne are not revealed by the Varāṅga inscription. It may be that he had married a princess of the Āḷupa house, probably the daughter of Kulaśēkhara and may have gained the Āḷupa throne as regent when the latter died without any eligible candidate directly belonging to the Āḷupa dynasty.

No other records pertaining or referring to the reign of Kuṇḍaṇa have come down to us. He, however, did not reign for long for there was another ruler on the Āḷupa throne as early as in A.D. 1235. Kuṇḍaṇa may, therefore, be considered to have reigned from about 1220 to 1230 A.D.

VALLABHADĒVA ĀḶUPĒNDRA *alias* DATTĀḶPĒNDRA II

Kuṇḍaṇa's successor was Vallabhadēva Āḷupēndra whose reign is represented by a much worn out inscription⁶⁸ from Vaḍḍarse, Udipi Taluk. This record gives him the epithets of *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* and *Rāya-gaj-āṅkuśa*. It is dated in the cyclic year Manmatha, Kanyā 13, Monday. On palaeo-

⁶⁷ *History of Tuluva*, p. 123.

⁶⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 295.

graphical grounds, the year Manmatha is to be referred to A.D. 1235-36 and the given details of date regularly correspond to A.D. 1235, September 10.

Besides giving the name of the king as Vallabhadēva, the inscription also refers to him as Oḍḍamarāja. This helps us to identify the Ālupa king Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra Oḍḍamadēva, who figures in the undated inscription⁶⁹ from Mūḍabidure which, as has been pointed out earlier, Saletore had wrongly assigned to 959 A.D., with Vallabhadēva-Oḍḍamarāja. The palaeographical features in the two records clearly show that the Vaḍḍarse inscription of Vallabhadēva Oḍḍamarāja and the Mūḍabidure inscription of Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra Oḍḍamadēva belong to the same period and reign.

The Mūḍabidure record states that the king was ruling from his principal palace at Bārahakanyāpura. It records the gift of a cultivable field to Gaganaśivāchārya, hailed therein as born in the family of Dūrvāsa-munīndra, by two bodies known as the *halaru* of the *hattukēri* of Bārakūru and the *Nakhara*.

To the reign of the same ruler belongs another undated inscription⁷⁰, now kept in the Prince of Wales's Museum, Bombay. It mentions the ruler as Dattālpēndradēvarasa, endows him with the epithets *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* and *Rāyaga-jāṅkuśa* but makes no reference to his reign. The inscription records a gift, by the king, of land in Kanyāna to Gaganaśivāchārya, born in the family of Dūrvāsamunīndra, for conducting services to the god Vighnēśvara.

Dattālpēndra's successor was on the throne as early as in A.D. 1254 and so the former may be considered to have reigned from about A.D. 1230 to 1250.

⁶⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 315. The published text contains the wrong reading *Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra Oḍḍamadēvigaḷa*. Saletore (*History of Tuluva*, p. 93) accordingly took Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra to be the king's name and Oḍḍamadēvi to be the name of his queen. The correct reading, however, is *Dattālpēndra Śrīmāra-Oḍḍamadēvarasaru*.

⁷⁰ *ARIE.*, 1962-63, No. B 743.

VĪRAPĀṆḌYADĒVA ĀLUPĒNDRADĒVA

Dattālpēndra's successor bore the name Virapāṇḍyadēva Ālupēndradēva. The earliest⁷¹ of his inscriptions, from Kōṭe in Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1177, Ānanda, Bhādrapada ba. 30, Kanyā 16, Sunday = A.D. 1254, September 13. It states that the king, who is given the usual epithets of *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* and *arirāya-basava-saṁkara*, was ruling from his palace at Bārahakanyāpura. It records that some grant (details lost) was made by the 'Thousand' of Kōṭa and Mayda-verggade while the king was seated in audience in the presence of all his ministers (*samasta-prādhānarum-ire*) including his nephew (*aḷiya*) Baṅkidēva and his brother-in-law (*mayduna*) Oḍḍamadēva Balla-verggade.

A second inscription⁷² of his reign, from Brahmāvara, Udipi Taluk, bears the date Śaka 1177, Ānanda, Āśvayuja śu. 15, Kanyā 30, Monday = A.D. 1254, September 28 and records that, while the king was in audience in his palace at Bārahakanyāpura in the presence of all his ministers (including those mentioned in the previous record) and priests (*purōhitaru*), the 102 *mahājanas* of Brahmaūra were directed to pay to the royal treasury (*arasiṅge*) 700 *gadyāṇas* once in three years.

Another inscription⁷³ from Nilāvara in the same Taluk, dated in Śaka 1181, Piṅgaḷa, Phālguna ba. 5, Sunday, Mīna 2 = A.D. 1258, February 24, records that the 'Three hundred' of Nīruvāra were directed to pay every year 100 *gadyāṇas* to the king, 30 *gadyāṇas* to the *adhikāri* and 30 *gadyāṇas* to the village. This record also states that the king was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura in the presence of all his ministers, including *mayduna* Oḍḍamadēva and Narasiṅga-heggade and saints (*rishi*) and priests. The ruler receives the same epithets as above.

⁷¹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 509.

⁷² *Ibid.*, No. 485.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, No. 490.

Two other inscriptions of Virapāṇḍyadēva, one from Kōṭēśvara,⁷⁴ Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1183, Durmati, Mārgaśīra śu. 6, Tuesday, Dhanus 3=A.D. 1261, November 29 and the other from Coondapur⁷⁵ itself, dated Śaka 1184, Dundubhi, Śrāvaṇa ba. 13, Simha 16, Sunday=A.D. 1262, August 13 state that the king was jointly ruling with the Queen Mother (*piriy-arasi*) Paṭṭamahādēvi. That she was the mother of Virapāṇḍyadēva is revealed by an undated record⁷⁶ from Hānehallī, Udipi Taluk which introduces the king as her son (*paṭṭada-piriy-arasi Paṭṭa-mahādēviyara suputrara*).

Of these, the Kōṭēśvara inscription gives the king the usual epithets, mentions his *pradhānas*, including *mayduna* Oḍḍamaśrīdēva, Narasiṅga-verggaḍe and Māradamma-adhikāri and records a grant of 180 *gadyāṇas* by the 'Three hundred' of Kuḍikūru, Poḷali-heggaḍe and Kōṭi-mēlaṇṭa. The Coondapur inscription omits the epithets; it fixes the revenue of Coondapur at 140 *gadyāṇas*. The Hānehallī inscription, besides giving the usual titles and referring to *sakala-pradhānas*, also mentions the queen Ballamahādēvi and records a gift of paddy to the god Sōmanāthadēva. All these records state that the king was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura.

Virapāṇḍyadēva's inscription⁷⁷ from Hērāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1184, Dundubhi, Tulā 5, Wednesday=A.D. 1262, October 2, Monday (and not Wednesday).⁷⁸ The record is much damaged but mentions the *pradhānas* including *mayduna* Voḍḍamadēva and Narasiṅga-heggaḍe and also the capital Bārahakanyāpura.

An inscription⁷⁹ from Puttige, belonging to his reign, is dated in the cyclic year Prabhava, Simha=A.D. 1267, July 29—

⁷⁴ *SII.*, IX, Part I, No. 395.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 396.

⁷⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 241.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 288.

⁷⁸ Tulā 5 was a Wednesday in Śaka 1185, Rudhirōdgāri=A.D. 1263, Oct., 3.

⁷⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 500.

August 28, and gives him a long list of sovereign epithets and titles such as *samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Sōma-kūḷa-tiḷaka*, *Pāṇḍya-mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *vairībha-kaṇṭhīra*, *śaraṇāgata-vajrapaṇjara* and *Śrī-Kōṭīśvaradēvara-divya-śrī-pāda-padam-ārādhaka*. The inscription registers a contract while the king was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura with all his ministers including Oḍḍamadēva and Narasiṅga-heggaḍe.

Next in date is his inscription⁸⁰ from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, which is dated in the cyclic year Āṅgiras, Mēsha 12, Saturday = A.D. 1272, April 5. It seems to record a gift of paddy to the god Baṅkēśvaradēva.

His latest available inscription⁸¹, from Kuttupāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is dated in the cyclic year Bhāva, Kanyā. The details of the date are lost. The record belongs to A.D. 1274, August 29-September 27. It records an agreement of peace entered into by the people of Māṅgōḍu in the presence of the *mahā-pradhānas* Narasiṅga-heggaḍe and Voḍḍamadēva.

To this period belongs an undated inscription⁸² from Kōṭakēri in Bārakūru, Udipi Taluk. It records that Vīra-Jagadēvarasa, Paṭṭamahādēvi and Pāṇḍyadēvarasa were ruling jointly from their capital Bārahakanyāpura when a gift of land was made for conducting services to the god Mahādēva.

Saletore wrongly assigns⁸³ this record to the first half of the 12th century and to the reign of Kavi Ālupēndra with whom he has sought to identify Pāṇḍya-dēvarasa. He also makes Paṭṭamahādēvi the queen of Kavi Ālupēndra.

Neither the palaeography of the Kōṭakēri inscription nor the known historical facts support the above suggestions. We have seen above that the Hānehallī inscription specifically states that Vīrapāṇḍyadēva was the son (*suputra*) of Paṭṭamahādēvi. Paṭṭamahādēvi and Pāṇḍyadēvarasa of the Kōṭakēri inscription should be identified with Paṭṭamahādēvi and her son Vīrapāṇḍya-

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 533.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 241.

⁸² *SII.*, VII, No. 380.

⁸³ *History of Tuluva*, pp. 234 ff.

dēva of the Hānehalli inscription. This is well borne out by the palaeography of the two records.

This leads us to the identification of the other joint ruler, Vīra-Jagadēvarasa. He is given in the record feudatory titles such as *samadhigatapañchamahāśabda* and *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and also receives many of the typically Śāntara epithets including *Uttara-Madhur-ādhiśvara*, *Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha-puravarādhiśvara*, *Mahōgravamāsa-lalāma*, *Padmāvatīdēvī-labdha-varaprasāda*, *Vānara-dhvaja*, *Mṛiga-lāñchchhana* etc. These epithets undoubtedly prove that Vīra-Jagadēvarasa hailed from the Śāntara house. He was obviously a feudatory of the Hoysaḷas.

The reasons which made him a joint ruler of the Tuḷu country are not given in the record or elsewhere. It is likely that Paṭṭamahādēvī, who was probably the queen of Vallabhadēva *alias* Dattālpēndra II, was the sister of Vīra-Jagadēvarasa. At the time of her husband's death, her son Virapāṇḍyadēva may not have come of age and she may have asked for her brother's help in ruling over the kingdom. Virapāṇḍyadēva appears to have been very young at the time of his accession in about 1250 A.D., for, when he died after a reign of about 25 years, it became necessary for his queen to rule as regent in the place of her young son Nāgadēvarasa. The Kōṭakēri record should therefore be referred to the early years of Virapāṇḍyadēva's reign.

A damaged inscription⁸⁴ from Uppūru, Udipi Taluk, which refers to the reign of a *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* Pāṇḍyadēva should also be referred to Virapāṇḍyadēva's reign on palaeographical grounds.⁸⁵ It is dated in the cyclic year Piṅgala, Kum̐bha 3,⁸⁶ Sunday=A.D. 1258, January 26, Saturday (and not Sunday) and records a gift of gold by some persons including one Para-

⁸⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 488.

⁸⁵ *History of Tuḷuva*, pp. 101-102 where this inscription is wrongly assigned to A.D. 1137.

⁸⁶ *vide ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 488 where the date is wrongly read as Kum̐bha 31.

paḷināyaka. Besides these, damaged inscriptions from Pādūru,⁸⁷ Udiṭi Taluk and Kōṭēśvara⁸⁸, Coondapur Taluk, refer themselves to the reign of Virapāṇḍyadēva.

Since the earliest and the latest known dates for Virapāṇḍyadēva fall in A.D. 1254 and 1274 respectively, he may be considered to have reigned from about A.D. 1250 to 1275.

BALLAMAHĀDĒVI

As we had stated above, Virapāṇḍyadēva died leaving behind his queen Ballamahādēvi and a minor son, Nāgadēvarasa. The inscriptions clearly show that his queen succeeded him and betook all the sovereign titles used by the Ālupas.

Her earliest inscription⁸⁹ is from Nilāvara, Udiṭi Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1201, Īśvara, Kanyā 15, Sunday. The cyclic year Īśvara, however, fell in Śaka 1199 and the given details of date regularly correspond to A.D. 1277, September 12. The inscription records gifts by the queen to the goddess Nīruvāra-Bhagavatī. She is merely addressed here as *paṭṭada-piriyarasi*. Ballamahādēvi was on this date ruling from her principal palace at Bārahakanyāpura along with all her ministers (*samastapradhānaru*), the *dēśi-purushas*, the *bāhattara-niyogis* and the priests.

An inscription⁹⁰ from Keñjūru, Udiṭi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1200 (wrong for 1203), Vishu, Tulā 7, Sunday = A.D. 1281, October 4, Saturday (and not Sunday) refers to *paṭṭada-piriyarasi* Ballamahādēvi as born in the family of Mānābharaṇēśvara and as the mistress of the Western Sea. It states that she was reigning from Bārahakanyāpura in the presence of Baṅkidēva of the line of Dattāḷva, Narasiṅga-heggaḍe, *mahāpradhāna* Sōmaṇṇa-sēnabōva, Baṁma-sēnabōva, *kumāra* Bijjaṇṇa-arasa, *mahāpradhāna* Peruṇa-sēnabōva and the *dēśi-purushas*.

⁸⁷ *ARSIE.*, 1930 31, Nos. 367-368.

⁸⁸ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 397.

⁸⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 491.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 336.

A badly damaged inscription⁹¹ from Hērāḍi, Udupi Taluk, dated in the Kali year 4304, Chitrabhānu, Śaka 1204, Simha = A.D. 1282, July 28-October 28, gives the queen the epithet *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*. Her inscription⁹² from Mūḍa-Alevūr, Udupi Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Tāraṇa, Bhādrapada ba. 10, probably = A.D. 1284, September 6, Wednesday endows her with sovereign titles and epithets such as *samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Sōma-kula-tilaka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* etc. It refers to her son Pāṇḍya-dēvarasa and to *adhikāri* Dāsanna-sēnabōva. Another inscription⁹³ from Koḍavūr, Udupi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1210, Sarvajit, Tulā 24, Wednesday = A.D. 1287, October 22, records the remission of taxes by the queen on a land at Kuḍevūru.

An inscription⁹⁴ from Kachchūru, also in the Udupi Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Sarvadhāri, Śrāvaṇa ba. 5, Monday = A.D. 1288, July 19, states that one Niḍumbarāya made gifts of a garden and a house to one Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa for conducting services to the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara when Ballamahādēvi was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura along with her five ministers (*pañcha-pradhānas*).

About this time, Nāgadēvarasa, who must have been a minor at the time of his father Vīrapāṇḍyadēva's death in about 1275 A.D., came of age and also came to be actively associated with the responsibilities of the crown. An inscription⁹⁵ from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, dated in Śaka 1213, Khara, Māgha ba. 10, Kumbha 20 (wrong for 21), Thursday = A.D. 1292, February 14, refers itself to the reign of Nāgadēvarasa, son of *piriyarasi* Ballamahādēvi. It records a gift of garden-land to the god Nakharēśvara by the king when he was ruling from Bārahakanyāpura with all his ministers, priests, the *dēśipurushas* and the *nakhara* of Basarūru.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 291. The name of the ruler is wrongly read here as [Oḍama-rāja]dēva.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 584.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, No. 577.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 257.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1927-28, No. 415.

That Ballamahādēvi did not cease to be the reigning queen with the accession of her son is proved by an inscription⁹⁶ from Maṇipura, Udipi Taluk, which, while referring itself to Ballamahādēvi's reign, makes no mention of her son Nāgadēvarasa though it is dated in the cyclic year Nandana, Tulā 1, probably = A.D. 1292, September 28, Sunday. The Maṇipura inscription provides us with the latest known date for Ballamahādēvi. It is likely that she did not rule for long after this date. We may therefore assign her a reign-period from about 1275 A.D. to 1292 A.D.

The epithet *Mānābharaṇēśvara-dēvara-vaṇś-ānvēyar* given to Ballamahādēvi in the Keñjūru inscription discussed above has led to a suggestion⁹⁷ that she may have been a princess of the Pāṇḍya dynasty or that she may have belonged to the family of Mānābharaṇa, the Ceylonese king who was defeated by Chōla Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018-54). It is, however, unlikely that the Ālupas, whose rule was at that time confined to the tiny kingdom of Āluvakhēḍa, contracted marital alliance either with the Pāṇḍyas or with the distant Ceylonese kings. On the other hand, Ballamahādēvi appears to have belonged to a leading family of Āluvakhēḍa itself and may have been the sister of Oḍḍamadēva who appears in the records of Virapāṇḍyadēva not only as his *pradhāna* but also as his *maiduna* (i.e. brother-in-law). Oḍḍamadēva is mentioned in the Kōṭe and Brahmāvara inscriptions of 1254 A.D., discussed above, as Oḍḍamadēva-Ballaverggaḍe. *Mahādēvi* stands for 'queen' and *verggade* denotes office. Thus we get Balla as the proper names of Virapāṇḍyadevā's queen and brother-in-law.

NĀGADĒVARASA AND BAṆKIDĒVA

The fact that after Virapāṇḍyadēva, his queen Ballamahādēvi and later his son Nāgadēvarasa succeeded to the throne clearly shows that the system of matriarchal succession (known

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 587.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, p. 61.

in the Tuḷu country as *aḷiya-santāna*) had not come to be adopted by the Ālupas.

We had seen above that the Basarūru inscription provides the earliest known date for the reign of Nāgadēvarasa (A.D. 1292, February 14). The next inscription⁹⁸ belonging to his reign is also from Basarūru and is dated in Śaka 1220, Kumbha 20, Thursday = A.D. 1298, February 13. This much damaged inscription refers to the *samasta-pradhānas* and seems to record some grant to the god Nakarēśvaradēva.

The succession of Ballamahādēvi and later of Nāgadēvarasa to the throne vacated by Virapāṇḍyadēva did not go uncontested. We had seen above that the Kōṭe and Brahmāvara inscriptions of Virapāṇḍyadēva, belonging to A.D. 1254, mention one *aḷiya* Baṅkidēva. The Keñjūru inscription of Ballamahādēvi states that, besides ministers and officials, Baṅkidēva of the lineage (*baḷi*) of Dattāḷva was in attendance in her court. Dattāḷva was the predecessor of Virapāṇḍyadēva on the Ālupa throne. These were in all probability related as father and son. Since two inscriptions of Virapāṇḍyadēva address Baṅkidēva as the king's *aḷiya*, it is very likely that the latter was the son of Dattāḷva's daughter and Virapāṇḍyadēva's sister.

Encouraged by the prevalence of *aḷiya-santāna* in South Kanara and, perhaps, among some of the minor ruling families of the region,⁹⁹ *aḷiya* Baṅkidēva appears to have contested the right of Ballamahādēvi and Nāgadēvarasa to succeed to the throne left vacant by his uncle. His open revolt against this arrangement could not have taken place before A.D. 1281 when he is mentioned as present in the court of Ballamahādēvi. The earliest reference to his reign is found in an inscription¹⁰⁰ from

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1927-28, No. 420.

⁹⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 202, for instance, gives seven generations of succession by *aḷiya-santāna* for a family of local chieftains. It is dated in Śaka 1351, thus enabling us to carry forward the earliest name in the given genealogy to the 13th century.

¹⁰⁰ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 484. The inscription has been wrongly assigned to one Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva and the year wrongly read as Śaka 1269 in the above report.

Brahmāvara, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1209, Vyaya,, Mārgga-sira śu. 10, Tuesday = A.D. 1286, November 26, f.d.t. 30. This record, however, gives Baṅkidēva the subordinate title of *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* though he also receives the sovereign epithets *arirāya-basava-saṅkara* and *Virapāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* and is referred to as ruling the kingdom (*rājyavan-āḷe*).

His other inscription¹⁰¹, which falls into a date when he was not the sole ruler of Āluvakhēḍa, is from Kurnāḍu in Mangalore Taluk and is dated in the cyclic year Durmukhi, Simha 27, Thursday = A.D. 1296, August 24, Friday (and not Thursday). It states that Baṅkidēva was ruling from his principal palace at Maṅgaḷūru with all his ministers, Koṇḍey-adhikāri, Pākarasa etc. It is thus obvious that from at least A.D. 1286 onwards, Baṅkidēva had set up a rival seat of power with his capital at Mangalore while first Ballamahādēvi and then her son Nāga-dēvarasa continued their reigns over the northern parts of the kingdom from Bārahakanyāpura.

Since the earliest and latest known dates for Nāga-dēvarasa fall in A.D. 1292 and 1298, he may have reigned from about A.D. 1290 to 1300. It is possible that he was finally ousted by Baṅkidēva for the latter's subsequent reign was without a rival.

The next available inscription¹⁰² of Baṅkidēva is from Mangalore and is dated Śaka 1225, Śubhakṛit, Mēsha 7, Sunday = A.D. 1302, April 1. The king receives herein the epithets *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* and *Rāyagajāṅkuśa* and is stated to be ruling from his palace at Maṅgaḷāpura. It records the interesting fact that the king, at the time of offering *piṇḍa* for the merit of Mōchalamahādēvi, who was his elder sister (*akka*) and had died some time ago (*munna*), made a gift of land and its incomes to one Vāmana with the stipulation that the gift be utilised for conducting services to the deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara.

Baṅkidēva's inscription¹⁰³ from Kariyaṅgaḷa, Mangalore

¹⁰¹ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 527.

¹⁰² *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 77.

¹⁰³ *ARSIE.*, 1927-28, No. 377. The date is wrongly given here as Simha 15 and the week-day *Ā* (= *Āditya-vāra*) is omitted. See also *History of Tuluva*, p. 133.

Taluk, is dated in the cyclic year Krōdhi, Simha 5, Sunday. On palaeographical grounds, the cyclic year is to be referred to Śaka 1226 and the given details of date correspond to A.D. 1304, August 2. It records that during Baṅkidēva's reign, while Dēhāradēva was holding the office of *atikāri*, Buṇṇāṇi made a gift of the land called *Kalkuṭa*, which formed a part of his *brahma-dāya*, to the god Hoḷala-dēva.

His inscription¹⁰⁴ from Paṇambūru, also in the Mangalore Taluk, is dated Śaka 1227, Viśvāvasu, Mithuna 1 = A.D. 1305, May 27, Thursday. It is much damaged but seems to record a gift of land to the god Nagarēśvarada-Gaṇapati by Gaganasīvachārya.

An inscription¹⁰⁵ from Sujēru, Mangalore Taluk, dated in Śaka 1228 (wrong for Śaka 1227), Viśvāvasu, Simha 18, Sunday = A.D. 1305, August 15, refers to *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*, *Rāyagajāṅkuśa* Baṅkidēva Āḷupēndradēva as ruling from his audience hall called *Bhuvanāśraya* in the principal palace at the capital city of Maṅgaḷāpura. It records several gifts by the king to the god Timirēśvara in gratitude for favourably answering his prayers for rains at the time of drought (*anāvṛishṭi*).

Apart from the above dated inscriptions, another record¹⁰⁶ from Kadiri, Mangalore Taluk, which is badly worn out and whose date is lost, but which refers itself to the reign of *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*, *Rāyagajāṅkuśa* Baṅkidēva, is to be assigned to the same reign on palaeographical grounds.

The earliest known date for Baṅkidēva's reign is furnished by the Brahmāvara inscription, referred to above, which belongs to A.D. 1286. The earliest known date for his successor, as will be seen below, falls in A.D. 1315. We may, therefore, tentatively consider Baṅkidēva to have reigned from about A.D. 1285 to 1315.

¹⁰⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1949-50, App. B, No. 227.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1930-31, No. 338.

¹⁰⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 188.

SÖYIDĒVA ĀLUPĒNDRADĒVA

Baṅkidēva was succeeded by Sōyidēva Ālupēndradēva, whose earliest inscription,¹⁰⁷ from Bārakūru, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1238, Rākshasa, Mārggaśira (wrong for Nija-Kārttika) śu. 13, Vṛiśchika 13, Monday = A.D. 1315, November 10. This inscription is very interesting but, at the same time, problematic, for it mentions Baṅkidēvarasa of the line (*baḷi*) of Dattāḷva¹⁰⁸ as one of the donors, the others being the *samasta-pradhānas*, the *dēśi-purushas*, the *eraḍu-kōla-baḷi* and the *bāhattara-niyōgis*, who made several gifts of gold to the god Sōmanāthadēva of Maṇigārakēri, a part of the capital city of Bārahakanyāpura from where Sōyidēva was ruling. We have seen above that the Keṇjūru inscription of Ballamahādēvi of 1281 A.D., refers to Sōyidēva's predecessor Baṅkidēva as of the line (*baḷi*) of Dattāḷva. His reference in the Bārakūru inscription of Sōyidēva, not as the reigning king but merely as one of the donors, may at best be explained away to mean that Baṅkidēva, for reasons not known to us from any source, had vacated the throne in favour of Sōyidēva at a date not far removed from that of the Bārakūru inscription under study. This record endows Sōyidēva with the epithets *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* and *arirāya-basava-saṅkara*.

Next in date is an inscription¹⁰⁹ from Hāvañje, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1240, Piṅgaḷa, Chaitra śu. 1, Tuesday = A.D. 1318, March 4, Saturday (and not Tuesday). The record is badly damaged but refers to Kūtāḷuva-daṇḍanāyaka, the *samasta-pradhānas*, the *eraḍu-kōla-baḷi* and the *bāhattara-niyōgis*. The king receives the same epithets as found in his Bārakūru inscription.

His Uppunda¹¹⁰ (Coondapur Taluk) inscription is dated in the cyclic year Dundubhi, Jyēshṭha śu. 15, Monday = A.D. 1322, May 31. It is very badly damaged.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 354.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, and *History of Tuluva*, pp. 135-36 where the name Dattāḷva has not been read, though the letters are clear on the impression examined by me.

¹⁰⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 345.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 554.

Next in date is his inscription¹¹¹ from Āvarśe, Udipi Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Rudhirōdgāri, Kanyā 12, Saturday =A.D. 1323, September 10. It gives the ruler the two epithets mentioned above, refers to *Mahāpradhāna* Siṅgaṇa-sāhaṇi and records a gift of land to Mādhava-kalkura by Bañchaṇa-heggaḍe and Alla-setti.

The badly damaged Pādebeṭṭu (Udipi Taluk) inscription¹¹², dated in Śaka 1246, Raktākshi=A.D. 1324-25, refers to the *Mahāpradhānas* Sōvaṇṇa-sēnabōva and Siṅgaṇa-sāhaṇi and the *halaru* of *hattu-kōla-baḷi* and records a gift of money by the king to the god Kōṭīśvaradēva.

Sōyidēva's inscription¹¹³ from Hosakōṭe, Coondapur Taluk, is dated Śaka 1247, Raktākshi, Āshāḍha śu. 7, Thursday=A.D. 1324, June 28, f. d. t. .66. This much damaged record mentions the *Mahāpradhānas* Sōvaṇṇa-sēnabōva and Siṅgaṇa-sāhaṇi and the *bāhattara-niyōgi* Viṭhaṇa and records some grant made by them.

An inscription¹¹⁴ from Paḍuvari, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1246, Raktākshi, Simha 17, Wednesday=A.D. 1324, August 14, Tuesday (and not Wednesday), mentions *Mahāpradhāna* Sōvaṇṇa-sēnabōva and Loki-yaḍaha, the *adhikāri* of Bayidūranāḍu, and records a gift of land to the god Sōmanāthadēva. Bayidūra-nāḍu was the region around the modern village of Baindūru in Coondapur Taluk. While narrating the boundaries of the gift land, the inscription refers to the land (*bāḷu*) of Dātu-nāyaka of the lineage (*baḷi*) of the Toḷahas. The rise of the Toḷahas into a minor ruling family during the later Vijayanagara period has been noticed earlier in this chapter.

Another inscription¹¹⁵ from Kāp, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1247 (wrong for 1246), Raktākshi, Kanyā . . . =A.D. 1324,

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 308.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 1930-31, No. 374.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1961-62, No. 618.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 550.

¹¹⁵ *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 274.

August-September, records some grant (details lost) made by the *eraḍu-kōla-baḷi* and the *bāhattara-niyōgis*.

Sōyidēva's Mūḍa-Niḍambūru (Udipi Taluk) inscription¹¹⁶ is dated in the cyclic year Prabhava, Āshāḍha ba. 3, Karkaṭaka 9 (wrong for 10), Tuesday=A.D. 1327, July 7. It records a gift of land to the god Tāreguḍeyadēva by *Mahāpradhāna* Siṅgaṇa-sāhaṇi, Boppaṇa-adhikāri, Koḍakala-nāyaka of Naḍapu and the *ūru*.

The latest date for Sōyidēva's reign is furnished by the Kuḍupu (Mangalore Taluk) inscription¹¹⁷ which is dated in the cyclic year Bhāva, Kumbha 22, Wednesday=A.D. 1335, February 15. This record gives the name of the king as Sōyirāya and gives him the three epithets, *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*, *arirāya-basava-saṅkara*, and *Rāyagajāṅkuṣa*.

To the period of Sōyidēva's reign belong two other dated inscriptions from South Kanara. Of these, the Varāṅga (Karkala Taluk) inscription¹¹⁸, dated Śaka 1254, Āṅgiraśa, Mithuna śu. 10 (i.e. Mithuna, Nija-Jyēshṭha śu. 10), Thursday=A.D. 1332, June 4 has been wrongly attributed¹¹⁹ to Gōpīśvararāya. The correct reading of the name, however, is Sōvīśvararāya and, therefore, the king mentioned in the record is none other than Sōyidēva or Sōyirāya. This record, which is badly worn out, gives the ruler epithets such as *Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya*, *Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* and *arirāya-basava-saṅkara*. It mentions the official *sarvādhikāri* Narasiṅga.

The other inscription¹²⁰ is from Hiriyāṅgaḍi, also in the Karkala Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1256, Bhāva, Phālguṇa śu. 5, Wednesday=A.D. 1334, February 9. This record refers itself to the universal reign (*prithvī-rājya*) of Lōkanāthadēvarasa who, while receiving imperial titles such as *samasta-bhuvan-āśraya*, *Prithvīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *parama-*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 308.

¹¹⁷ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 461.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No., 527.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* Also see *History of Tuluva*, pp. 138-39.

¹²⁰ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 247.

bhaṭṭāraka, also receives the feudatory title *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. Besides, he calls himself a devotee of the Jaina preceptor Chārukīrttipaṇḍitadēva who, according to this record, was *Ballāla-rāya chitta-chamatkāra* (i.e. an object of admiration for the Hoysala emperor). Lōkanāthadēva also receives epithets, typical of the Śāntaras, such as *Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapuravarādhiśvara*, *Mahōgravamīśalālāma*, etc., clearly indicating that he belonged to the Śāntara dynasty. It may, therefore, be concluded that Lōkanāthadēva was the then ruling king of Sāntalige-1000, the hereditary possession of the Śāntaras, and that he was a feudatory of the Hoysala emperor who at that time was Ballāla III (A.D. 1291-1342).

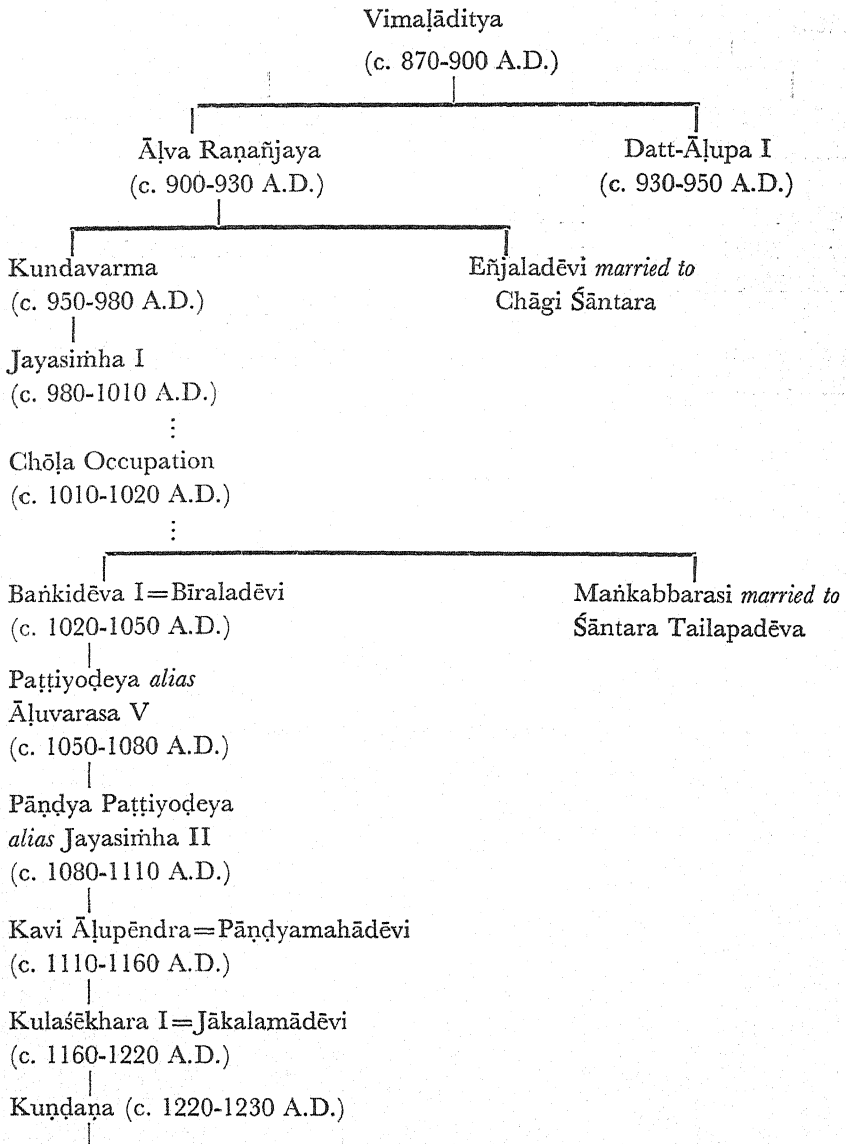
It will be seen in the next chapter that by the date of the Hiriyaṅgaḍi inscription, South Kanara had come to be occupied by the Hoysalas. It is likely that Lōkanāthadēvarasa, being a loyal feudatory of Ballāla III, was permitted to add the Kārkaḷa region to his own principality of Sāntalige-1000. His reign over this region appears to have served as a fore-runner for the establishment of the rule, over the Kārkaḷa territory, of the later Śāntaras of Kaḷaśa during the Vijayanagara period.

Sōyidēva's earliest known date falls in A.D. 1315 and the latest in A.D. 1335. Since the earliest known date for his successor falls in A.D. 1339, Sōyidēva may be deemed to have reigned from about A.D. 1315 to 1335.

During the last years of his reign, Sōyidēva had to tolerate a second line of administration headed by the queen of Hoysala Ballāla III. This Hoysala invasion marked a turning point in the history of South Kanara which once and for ever came to lose its political isolation. When the Hoysalas were removed from the political arena, the Āḷupa kingdom did not regain its independence, but came to form a part of the empire of Vijayanagara. It is only meet that this important development in the history of South Kanara is delineated in a separate chapter.

The previous chapter contained a succession table of the early Āḷupas, upto Datt-Āḷupa I. Hereunder is given a table of

succession¹²¹ for the rulers who reigned thereafter:



¹²¹ The nature of relationship between the preceding and succeeding rulers is generally not stated in the epigraphs themselves. The vertical stroke in between two given names of rulers is intended to show only direct succession and not the relationship of father and son unless it has been so stated in the body of the work.

Vallabhadēva *alias*

Datt-Ālupa II = Paṭṭamahādēvi

(c. 1230-1250 A.D.)

Virapāṇḍyadēva

(c. 1250-1275 A.D.)

His queen

Ballamahādēvi

(c. 1275-1292 A.D.)

Nāgadēvarasa

(c. 1290-1300 A.D.)

A Daughter

Mōchala-
mahādēvi

Baṅkidēva II

(c. 1285-1315 A.D.)

Sōyidēva

(c. 1315-1335 A.D.)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HOYSAĻA OCCUPATION AND THE LAST ĀĻUPA RULERS

The earliest encounter between the forces of HoysaĻa BallāĻa III and the TuĻuva army is recorded in an inscription¹ from Hanagavāḍi, Honnali Taluk, Shimoga District. Dated Śaka 1240, KāĻayukti, Pushya śu. 10, Monday=A.D. 1319, January 2, Tuesday (and not Monday), it records the death of Saṅgiya-nāyaka, son of Yibbara-nāyaka, in a battle fought on behalf of the HoysaĻa ruler against Basavadēva, the ruler of Chandāvura below the Ghats. The HoysaĻa forces were led by Saṅkaya-sāhaṇi, the brother-in-law (*mayduna*) of Baicheya-daṇṇāyaka. The record says that before he was himself killed, Saṅgiya-nāyaka had successfully routed the TuĻuva forces (*TuĻuvāra keḍisi*).

Chandāvura below the Ghats is the same as modern Chandāvar, a village in the Honavar Taluk of North Kanara District. The above inscription clearly suggests that Basavadēva was assisted in the battle against the HoysaĻa forces by the ruler of the TuĻuva country by which is meant the ĀĻupa ruler. And in A.D. 1319 the ĀĻupa throne was occupied by Sōyidēva. An inscription² from Sirāli near Bhaṭkaḷ, also in the Honavar Taluk, throws interesting light in this regard. The record is in two parts, the first one dated in Śaka 1225, Krōdhi, Chaitra śu. 1, Monday=A.D. 1304, March 8, Sunday (and not Monday). It refers itself to the reign of *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, arirāya-basava-saṅkara* Virā-Sōyidēvarasa. The epithets are typical for the ĀĻupas and Sōyidēvarasa, who was probably put in charge of the administration of the region around Sirāli by the then ĀĻupa king, Baṅkidēva II, may be identified with the latter's successor.

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hl. 117.

² *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part I, No. 2. Here, the name of the ruler has been wrongly read as Virā-Ajayidēvarasa.

That the Ālupas of that period were in actual possession of the southern extremes of the North Kanara District is further proved by the second part of the Sirāli inscription which, dated in the cyclic year Prajāpati, Mārgaśira ba. Amāvāse, Saturday, Solar eclipse=A.D. 1331, November 30, refers itself to the reign of Sōyidēvarasa whose reign was discussed towards the end of the previous chapter. Basavadēva, the ruler of Chandāvara, was, in all probability, a feudatory of Ālupa Sōyidēvarasa for the Hanagavāḍi inscription specifically declares that Saṅgiya-nāyaka routed the army of the Tuḷuva king (*Tuḷuvara bala*).

The Hanagavāḍi record thus furnishes the earliest recorded encounter between Ballāḷa III and Sōyidēva. The battle of Chandāvara was most probably fought by Ballāḷa as one in a chain of military expeditions meant to bolster up the prestige and power of the Hoysala empire which had suffered a distinct set-back as a result of his subjugation by the Muslim invader Malik Kafur. At any rate, epigraphical evidence shows that the Ālupas neither lost in territory nor did they acknowledge Hoysala suzerainty as a result of this battle.

But, early in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century Āluvakhēḍa lost its territorial independence, never again to retrieve it. Vīra Ballāḷa III, whose long reign was remarkable for its many wars, thoroughly overran the Ālupa kingdom and his inscriptions start appearing in South Kanara from A.D. 1333 side by side with those of other local rulers, including the Ālupas.

The earliest inscription³ of Ballāḷa III as yet discovered in South Kanara is from Nilāvara, Udupi Taluk and is dated Śaka 1255, Āṅgīrasa, Phālguna ba. 10, Mīna 16, Thursday=A.D. 1333, Mārch 11, f.d.t. .14. It records that in the presence of Chikkāyi-Tāyi, the senior crowned queen (*paṭṭada pīriy-arasi*) of Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī, arirāya-basava-saṁkara, rāyagajāṁkuṣa, Pratāpa-Chakravartī Hoyisaṇa Vīra Ballāḷa, while Mahāpradhāna Vayijappa-daṇṇāyaka, Ajaṇṇa-sāhaṇi, all the *pradhānas*, the *bāhattara-niyogas* and the *eraḍu-kōla-baḷi* were in attendance, the body called Nīru-

³ ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 492.

vāra-14 made a gift of the taxes on a piece of land to the temple of Durgā-Bhagavatī of Niruvāra. Nāgarasa was made the administrator (*atikāri*) of the grant thus made.

Chikkāyi-Tāyi, who ruled over South Kanara in the name of her husband, was perhaps a princess of the Āḷupa house. Derrett accuses⁴ Ballāḷa III, during his times the most powerful ruler in the south, of condescending to become one of the many husbands of Chikkāyi-Tāyi who, according to him, must have married again and again as permitted by the *āliya-santāna* or matriarchal law of succession. It has, however, been pointed out above that the Āḷupas do not appear to have adopted the *āliya-santāna* system at any time during their existence as a royal family. The only instance we have in the long list of known Āḷupa rulers is the reign of *āliya* Baṅkidēva. Even here, his reign was only a challenge to those who had succeeded to the throne by the universal law of direct succession.

Another Hoysaḷa inscription⁵ from Hosāḷa, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1255, Śrīmukha, Māgha ba. 14, Kumbha 10, Thursday=A.D. 1334, February 3. This record introduces Ballāḷa III, his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi, *Mahāpradhāna* Vayijappa-daṇṇāyaka and Ajaṇṇa-sāhaṇi in the same words as found in the Nīlāvara inscription discussed above. Among those attending upon the queen are included herein, besides the *bāhattara-niyōgis* and the *eraḍu-kōla-baḷi*, Lōkanāthadēva of the line (*baḷi*) of Dattāḷuva, Virupanāthadēva and the *halaru* of the *mūrukēri* of Bārakūru. The damaged portion of the inscription seems to record some grant made to the deity Viśvēśvara.

We have shown towards the end of the previous chapter that an inscription from Hiriyaṅgaḍi, Karkala Taluk, the date of which fell on February 9, A.D. 1334, refers itself to the reign of Lōkanāthadēvarasa who, as indicated by the titles and epithets accorded to him in the record, belonged to the Śāntara family. He is obviously the same as the Lōkanāthadēva of the line of

⁴ *The Hoysaḷas*, pp. 165-66.

⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 262. The details of date given herein are, however, incomplete.

ttāluva, referred to in the Hosāla inscription. His connection with the line of Dattāluva (c. 1230-1250 A.D.) may be explained by the suggestion that the latter may have given away in marriage one of his daughters to a Śāntara ruler and that kanātha was one of the descendants of such an alliance. The riyāṅgaḍi inscription further states that Lōkanāthadēva's rents were Bommidēva and Siddaladēvi. The absence of any records belonging to Bommidēva's reign in South Kanara itself suggests that he did not belong to the Tuḷu country.

An inscription⁶ from Bailūru (Udipi Taluk), dated Śaka 57, Bhāva, Mīna 23, Friday=A.D. 1335, March 18, Saturday (and not Friday), introduces Ballāḷa III and his queen, whose name is spelt herein as Kikkāyi-Tāyi, in terms identical with the records discussed above, and registers the grant of income from certain taxes to Vāsudēva-mūḍilla by the queen in the presence of *Mahāpradhāna* Vaijappa-danṇāyaka, the *Nakhara-haṅjamāna* of Bārakuru, the *eraḍu-kōla-baḷi*, all the *pradhānas* and the *bāhattara-niyōgis*. The inscription also states that the tax-money thus granted was to be realised from the village of Bailūru as per rules of village administration (*grāma-mariyāde*).

It has been shown in the previous chapter that the Āḷupa ruler Sōyidēva's reign ended sometime in A.D. 1335. He, as well as his successor Kulaśēkhara whose reign will be discussed below, ruled from Bārahakanyāpura. At the same time, inscriptions prove that Chikkāyi-Tāyi also ruled over the Āḷupa kingdom from the same city. It is, thus, obvious that the Āḷupas, in order to minimise the devastating effects of Hoysāḷa occupation, had, to some extent, compromised with their status as the sole rulers of the Tuḷu country. This is only better proved by the presence of inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the Āḷupa kings and Chikkāyi-Tāyi all over the Tuḷu country and, in some cases, in the same village too.

The next Hoysāḷa inscription⁷ is from Bārakūru itself and

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 583. The cyclic year is wrongly given here as Yuva.

⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 312. The name of the queen has been wrongly read here as Kishṇāyi-Tāyi.

is dated Śaka 1258, Dhātu, Vaiśākha śu. 1, Mēsha 19, Saturday = A.D. 1336, April 13. After introducing Ballāḷa III and his queen Kikkāyi-Tāyi in the usual phrases, it refers to *Mahāpradhāna* Vayijappa-daṇṇāyaka and to the *pradhānike* (ministership) of Ajaṇṇa-sāhaṇi. The inscription records the gift of land, by Sōvaṇṇa and Bākaṇṇa, to the god Saumyadēva and associates the three *setṭis* of *mūrukēri* and the 150 *eḷames* with the gift.

A much damaged inscription⁸ from Haṭyaṅgaḍi, Coondapur Taluk, records some grant (details lost) made by Ballāḷa III to the god Kōṭṭisvaradēva. Dated Śaka 1260, Īsvara, Phālguṇa, Thursday = A.D. 1338, February - March, this inscription makes no reference to his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi.

We may now turn our attention to the history of the Āḷupas. When Sōyidēva ended his reign in about A.D. 1335, he was succeeded on the throne by Kulaśēkharadēva Ālpēndradēvarasa II whose earliest available inscription,⁹ from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1261, Bahudhānya = A.D. 1339, January-March. This record gives Kulaśēkhara the sovereign epithets *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī* and *arirāya-gajāṅkuśa* and states that he was ruling from his principal palace at Bārahakanyāpura. This clearly proves that, like Sōyidēva, Kulaśēkhara also ruled as an independent king even while Ballāḷa III was holding his sway over the same kingdom through his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi. The inscription records some grant to the god Sōmanāthadēva by all the ministers (*samasta-pradhānas*) of Kulaśēkhara.

The next inscription¹⁰ of Kulaśēkhara, from Nīlāvara, Udipi Taluk, is dated as late as in Śaka 1267, Tāraṇa, Mārgaśīra ba. 3, Vṛiśchika 27, Thursday = A.D. 1344, November 23, Tuesday (and not Thursday). This inscription records a gift of land by the king, in the presence of the *samasta-pradhānas*, to the goddess Bhagavatī of Niruvāra.

In between the Handāḍi and Nīlāvara inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara, we have one record belonging to the reign of Ballāḷa III.

⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 568.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 596.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 496.

This record¹¹, from Mūdabidure, Karkala Taluk, is dated in the cyclic year Vishu, Makara 15, Thursday=A.D. 1342, January 10. It gives Ballāḷa III a long string of epithets such as *samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Sōma-kula-tilaka*, *Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti* etc., and states that he was the son of Narasimhādhindradēvarasa (i.e. Narasimha III—A.D. 1254-92). The inscription, which specifies punishments for acts of violence in that region, was set up jointly by Hariyappa-daṇṇāyaka, the brother-in-law (*mayduna*) of *Mahāpradhāna* Dēvappadaṇṇāyaka, Mādaḍaha, the son of Hosabaḍaha, the *atikāri* Dēvati-Āḷuva, the six *ballāḷus* of Sālike, the five *horahinavaru*, the eight *settis* of Bidire-nagara, the four *eḷames*, the *eraḍu-kōla-baḷi*, the *nāḍu* and the *nakara*.

While the above inscription makes no reference to Ballāḷa III's queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi, an inscription¹² from Mēlaḍupu, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1265, Tāraṇa, Pushya śu. 1, Dhanus 9, Monday=A.D. 1344, December 6, makes no mention of Ballāḷa III and, on the other hand, refers itself to the reign of queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi and her son (*avara-kumāra*) Kulaśēkharadēva. The reason for the absence of Ballāḷa III's name in the inscription is obvious. Ballāḷa had been most cruelly put to death by the Muhammadans at Madura on the 8th of September, A.D. 1342.¹³

Though, with the death of Ballāḷa III, the Hoysaḷa empire itself ceased to exist, his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi's sway over South Kanara continued uninterrupted. The Mēlaḍupu record gives to Chikkāyi-Tāyi, for the first time, all the sovereign Āḷupa epithets which had hitherto been borne by her husband: *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*, *arirāya-basava-saṅkara* and *Rāyagajāṅkuṣa*. The record refers to the joint rule of the queen and her son though the latter receives no epithets whatever. The inscription mentions their subordinate Vīra-Lōkanāthadēvarasa¹⁴ who receives

¹¹ *SHI.*, Vol. VII, No. 213.

¹² *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 240.

¹³ *The Hoysaḷa Varṇa*, p. 250.

¹⁴ See *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 240, where the name of the subordinate has not been read.

a string of epithets such as *para-nārī-sahōdara*, *Rāya-murāri* and *parabaḷa-sādhaka*. This inscription thus reveals two important facts, namely that, at the death of her husband, queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi made her son Kulaśēkhara a joint ruler and that Lōkanāthadēvarasa, though given imperial titles in the Hiriyāṅgaḍi record discussed above, was only a feudatory of Hoysala Ballāḷa III and later of his queen and son. The inscription, which is badly worn out in parts, seems to record gifts of land.

The latest available inscription¹⁵ of Chikkāyi-Tāyi, from Kanyāna, Coondapur Taluk, is dated in the cyclic year Sarvadhāri, Mithuna 11, Friday = A.D. 1348, June 6. This indifferently engraved record confers on the queen the usual epithets of *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī*, *arirāya-basava-saṅkara* and *Rāyagajāṅkuśa* and mentions her son (*kumāra*) whose name is very illegibly engraved. It is, however, likely that he was Kulaśēkhara, already mentioned in the Mēlaḍupu inscription. The record registers a grant of land by the queen to a certain Anna-hebbāruva.

The destruction of the Hoysala empire did not result in a vacuum but heralded the rise, on its very ruins, of another power, that of Vijayanagara, the like of which the south had never seen before. Harihara I, one of the founders and the first of its rulers, had started the kingdom on a humble note in A.D. 1336. At that time, the kingdom of Vijayanagara lay only over a part of the defunct Hoysala empire. It is well known that the urgent need for a united stand by the Hindu powers against the merciless onslaughts of the Muslim invaders contributed to the rapid growth, in strength and in territory, of the Vijayanagara empire without much military exertions on the part of its rulers. Within a decade of the founding of Vijayanagara, the Tulu country also fell in line and became, thereafter, a permanent part of the empire.

We have no means of determining whether a show of force on the part of Vijayanagara was necessary for the final annexation of Tuluva. While the inscriptions of the Ālupas, as will be seen

¹⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 360. The *tithi* 11 has not been read in this report,

below, continue to display the political and administrative independence of those rulers right till the end of the 14th century, queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi appears to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara emperors. This is learnt from an inscription¹⁶ from Śringēri, Kadur District, Mysore State, dated Śaka 1268, Pārthiva, Phālguna ba. 1, Thursday = A.D. 1346, March 9, in the reign of Harihara I. This epigraph, after recording gifts to Bhārati-tīrtha-śrīpāda and his disciples, also records the gift of villages to the *parichāra*kas of the same ascetic, by *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*, *arirāya-basava-saṅkara*, *Rāyagajāṅkuśa* Vira-Kikkāyi-Tāyi. The villages thus granted were situated in the Sāntalige-nāḍu, thus revealing for the first time that Chikkāyi-Tāyi's sway extended even beyond the Ghats into the territory of the Sāntaras.

We have shown above that the latest available date for Chikkāyi-Tāyi's reign is furnished by the Kanyāna record. Hoysaḷa Ballāla III, who had annexed Tuḷuva in about A.D. 1333, to which year his earliest inscription from South Kanara belongs, ruled over the region till his death in A.D. 1342. His queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi, who had been associated with him right from the start of his sway over South Kanara, ruled in all probability upto about A.D. 1350. Their son Kulaśēkhara to whose joint rule the Mēlaḍupu (A.D. 1344) and, perhaps, the Kanyāna (A.D. 1348) inscriptions make a reference, is not heard of again. It is, therefore, likely that he did not continue to rule after the decease of his mother.

It was made obvious in the chapters above that the Tuḷu country was subjected to invasions from outside, though only occasionally. Epigraphical evidence shows that the Āḷupas acknowledged the suzerainty, though only for brief periods and, then again, half-heartedly, of the early Kadambas, the Bādāmi Chalukyas, the Pallavas of Kāñchī, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Besides, the Chōḷas had, for a brief period in the eleventh century, occupied the Āḷupa kingdom and the Hoysaḷas had carried their arms into Āḷuvakhēḍa

¹⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Sg. 1.

more than once under Viṣṇuvardhana. While these invasions were in the nature of mere raids and failed to have any lasting effect upon South Kanara, the invasion by Ballāḷa III proved to be of an entirely different nature. Though he permitted the ancient Āḷupa family to continue its independent sway over Āḷuvakhēḍa, he made the region a part of his empire and established a second line of administration, run by his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi with the assistance of generals and ministers. The most important of these was *Mahāpradhāna* Vayijappa-daṇṇāyaka who figures in the Hoysala inscriptions of South Kanara from A.D. 1333 to 1336. He and Ajaṇṇa-sāhaṇi, who was one of the ministers (*pradhāna*) of Chikkāyi-Tāyi, must have helped in the establishment of Hoysala power over the Āḷupa territory.

At least one record informs us that Ballāḷa III stationed a standing army at the capital city of Bārahakanyāpura (Bārakūru). This inscription¹⁷ is from Āladahaḷḷi, Arsikere Taluk, Hassan District, Mysore state and is dated Śaka 1161 (wrong for 1261), Bahudhānya, Vaiśākha śu. 2, Wednesday—A.D. 1338 April 22. From this record we learn that, at the given date, Ballāḷa III was on a visit to his military establishments at Bārakūru (*Ballāḷa-dēvaru Bārakūru-daṇḍiṃge bijayaṃ geydu* etc.) More than any other evidence, this epigraph clearly shows that Ballāḷa III's invasion of South Kanara was not a mere raid but resulted in the annexation of the territory to his own empire.

THE LAST ĀḼUPA RULERS

We may once again turn our attention to the history of the Āḷupas. The Handāḍi and Nilāvāra inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara, who succeeded Sōyidēva in about A.D. 1335, were discussed above. They are dated respectively in A.D. 1339 and 1344.

Kulaśēkhara's inscription¹⁸ from Kumrugōḍu, Udupi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1267, Pārthiva, Āśvayuja śu. 10, Tulā 7, Thursday = A.D. 1345, October 6. The king receives herein the epithets

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Part I, Ak. 183.

¹⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 591.

Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, *arirāya-basava-saṅkara* and *Rāyagajāṅkuśa* and is stated to be ruling from his principal palace at Bārakūru. The inscription records a gift of land to one Parapaḷi-nāyaka, made by the king accompanied by all his ministers (*samasta-pradhānas*) and Nāraṇa-nāyaka.

Another inscription¹⁹ from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, which furnishes the latest known date for Kulaśēkhara's reign, is dated Śaka 1267, Pārthiva, Phālguna ba. 6, Mīna 9, Tuesday=A.D. 1346, March 14. The king is given the usual epithets and is stated to be ruling from Bārakūru. The inscription records a gift of land by the *samasta-pradhānas* and others to one Aṇṇa-Oraṃbaḷi and ends with Kulaśēkhara's signature.

During the closing years of Kulaśēkhara III's reign and during the reigns of his successors, South Kanara had come under the rule of the Vijayanagara emperors. But, while the Hoysaḷa queen became a subordinate of the Vijayanagara emperors, inscriptions of the Āḷupas reveal that they continued to enjoy the same amount of political and administrative independence as in the days of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III. Because of this and also in order to avoid confusion in the narrative, it is proposed to discuss hereunder reigns which succeeded that of Kulaśēkhara II instead of studying this period of Āḷupa history as part of South Kanara's history under Vijayanagara.

The latest available inscription of Kulaśēkhara II, discussed above, and the earliest available inscription of his successor to be discussed below, both belong to A.D. 1346. Kulaśēkhara II, therefore, reigned from A.D. 1335 to 1346.

According to Saletore²⁰ Kulaśēkhara II was succeeded by Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II. In order to substantiate this view, Saletore assigns four stone inscriptions to the reign of this Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva. The earliest of these is from Brahmāvara,²¹ Udipi Taluk and is dated Śaka 1268, Vyaya, Mārgaśira śu. 11, Saturday=A.D.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 603.

²⁰ *History of Tuluva*, pp. 145 ff.

²¹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 484.

1346, November 25. But, unlike as assumed by Saletore, this record does not refer itself to the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva but to that of *Vira-Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* Baṅkidēva Ālupēndradēvarasa. It is, thus, obvious that Kulaśēkhara's successor was Baṅkidēva III. The grant portion of the inscription is badly worn out but seems to record a gift of land.

The second inscription²², which Saletore assigns to the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva, is from Śṛīṅgēri and has already been discussed while writing on the reign of Chikkāyi-Tāyi, queen of Ballāḷa III. This inscription does not refer to any Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva, and the epithets *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*, *arirāya-basava-saṅkara* and *Rāyagajāṅkuśa* are applied to Chikkāyi-Tāyi herself. We have shown above that this queen receives these epithets in her inscriptions from South Kanara also. Saletore also makes the wrong statement that Chikkāyi-Tāyi was the queen of Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva whereas she was the queen of Ballāḷa III.

The third inscription²³ attributed to Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva is from Mangalore. The correct reading of the date given in this record is Śaka 1281, Vikāri, Mīna 1, Sunday = A.D. 1359, February 24. The rest of the record is so badly worn out that it has not been possible to make out the name of any king.

The fourth inscription²⁴ from Attāvara, Mangalore Taluk, is dated Śaka 1288, Parābhava, Mēsha 10, Thursday = A.D. 1366, April 4, Saturday (and not Thursday). This record makes no mention of any reigning king but refers to a grant made in ancient days (*ādi-kāladalu*) by king Kulaśēkhara.

It is thus obvious that Kulaśēkhara II was succeeded by Baṅkidēva of the Brahmāvara inscription. No other records of his reign have come down to us. The earliest available record of his successor Kulaśēkhara III belongs to the end of A.D. 1355. Baṅkidēva II may, therefore be considered to have reigned from A.D. 1346 to 1355.

²² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Sg. 1.

²³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 180.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 178.

The earliest inscription²⁵ of Kulaśēkhara III is from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1277, Manmatha, Dhanus 27, Thursday = A.D. 1355, December 24. The king is given the epithets *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti*, *arirāya-basava-saṅkara* and *Rāyagaj-āṅkuśa* and is stated to be ruling from Bārakūru. It refers to one Vāḷeyarasa and the *samasta-pradhanas* and records a gift of land by the king.

The only other inscription²⁶ belonging to the reign of Kulaśēkhara III is from Mūḍabidure, Karkala Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1306, Kali 4484 (other details of date are lost) = A.D. 1383-84. This inscription endows the ruler with sovereign titles such as *samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*, *Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. This record further informs us that the king was seated on his jewelled throne at Bidire (i.e. Mūḍabidure) and that he was a worshipper at the feet of the Jaina pontiff Chārukīrttidēva.

Kulaśēkhara III may have ruled from A.D. 1355 to about 1390. He was in all probability succeeded by Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II who is, however, mentioned in his only available inscription without the usual dynastic appellation *Āḷupēndra*. This inscription²⁷ from Mūḍabidure, dated in Śaka 1318 (expired), gives the king all the sovereign titles which his predecessor had borne in the record discussed above, thus making it certain that Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva belonged to the Āḷupa dynasty. It records a grant of land made to the goddess Durgādēvi.

According to Saletore one Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva III²⁸ ruled from A.D. 1397 to 1441 and was succeeded by one Vīra-Kulaśēkharadēva IV for whom he gives the dates 1441-44 A.D. Saletore makes out this theory on the strength of two inscriptions, one from Mūḍabidure²⁹ and the other from Mangalore.³⁰ It has been shown above that both these records belong to the reign of Kulaśēkhara I who ruled from about 1160 A.D. to 1220 A.D.

²⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 594.

²⁶ *SIL.*, Vol. VII, No. 225.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 221.

²⁸ *History of Tuluwa*, pp. 145 ff.

²⁹ *SIL.*, Vol. VII, No. 224.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 185.

Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II is therefore the last of the known Āḷupa rulers and his Mūḍabidure inscription, belonging to A.D. 1397, is the latest Āḷupa inscription which has as yet been brought to light. It may be concluded from this that the ancient house of the Āḷupas had met with its end by 1400 A.D.

We have seen above that though the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Pallavas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Chōḷas and the Hoysaḷas had thrust their power on the Āḷupas at different times, the latter had always maintained their political independence during their long sway over the Tuḷu country. But, in the fourteenth century, the conqueror, in the form of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III, came to stay as a ruler of the Āḷupa kingdom. Again, towards the end of the first half of that century, the Āḷupa kingdom was subjected to the power of Vijayanagara. Actually, though only for a brief period, South Kanara was simultaneously ruled by three powers, those of the Āḷupas, of the Hoysaḷa queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi and of Vijayanagara. It is a tribute to the diplomatic skill of the Āḷupas that they succeeded in maintaining their throne at Bārakūru side by side with those of the Hoysaḷas and Vijayanagara.

The previous chapter contained, at the end, a succession tree from Vimalāditya (c. 870-900 A.D.) to Sōyidēva (c. 1315-1335 A.D.) The succession table of the rulers who followed is given below:

Āḷupa

Sōyidēva
(c. 1315-35 A.D.)

|
Kulaśēkhara II
(A.D. 1335-46)

|
Baṅkidēva III
(A.D. 1346-55)

|
Kulaśēkhara III
(A.D. 1355-90)

|
Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II
(c. A.D. 1390-1400)

Hoysaḷa

Chikkāyi-Tāyi, queen of
Ballāḷa III (A.D. 1333-48)

|
Kulaśēkhara
(A.D. 1344-48)

CHAPTER SIX

SOUTH KANARA UNDER VIJAYANAGARA

The empire of Vijayanagara was born in A.D. 1336 and Harihara I was crowned its first emperor. Its beginnings were humble enough, only a part of the just defunct Hoysala empire coming under the sway of Harihara I at the start. But, very soon, the then prevailing political circumstances, which were largely the creations of the peril into which the Hindus found their timeless religion thrust by the relentless Muhammadan onslaughts, contrived to expand the territories of the Vijayanagara empire into a vastness unprecedented in South Indian history.

South Kanara itself came to form a part of the empire within a decade of its birth as is shown by the Attāvara (Mangalore Taluk) inscription¹ of Bukka I which is the earliest dated Vijayanagara inscription so far discovered in that district and which is dated Śaka 1267, Pārthiva, Māgha 14, Monday=A.D. 1345, January 17.

Vijayanagara inscriptions are by far the largest in number among epigraphs discovered in South Kanara. Dated records of all the emperors who are known to have ruled over the empire have been found in the region. It will be mere repetition to trace the dynastic history of Vijayanagar as revealed by the South Kanara inscriptions. It will suffice the purpose of this work if only such of those records which throw new light and which go contrary to known facts are discussed hereunder.

The circumstances which brought about the annexation of South Kanara into the empire are not revealed by available epigraphical material. The Muhammadan cavalry had everywhere overwhelmingly weighed against the defending armies

¹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 179.

of the Hindus. The rulers of Vijayanagara could hope to build up a formidable cavalry only with the help of horses imported from Arabia and for doing this they needed suitable ports. It is not unlikely that South Kanara, which possessed such ports in Mangalore and Bārakūru, was annexed into the empire on this account.

The reign of Harihara I (A.D. 1336-57) is represented by an inscription² from Kāntāvara, Karkala Taluk. This inscription is dated in the cyclic year Sarvadhāri, Vṛishabha 4, Tuesday. Harihara I and Harihara II ruled during A.D. 1336-57 and 1377-1404 respectively. During these years, the cyclic year Sarvadhāri fell only once in A.D. 1348, during Harihara I's reign, and the given details of date regularly correspond to April 29, A.D. 1348. The king receives the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and his *pradhāna* Gautarasa is stated to be ruling over the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya.

Another damaged inscription³ from Udipi records some grants by Vira Harihararāya to the god Kṛishṇa. The available details of date read Durmukhi, Phālguṇa. This cyclic year should be referred to A.D. 1356-57 and the inscription, in that case, was issued sometime between the 20th February and the 21st of March in A.D. 1357, and the ruler must be identified with Harihara I.

Within a decade after his accession, Harihara I made his younger brother Bukka I, whose records make their appearance elsewhere as early as in A.D. 1344, a joint ruler. We have seen above that the earliest Vijayanagara inscription from South Kanara, found in Attāvara and belonging to A.D. 1345, belongs to the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeya (i.e. Bukka I). This record states that Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya was governing Maṅgaḷūru-rājya. It is obvious from this that Śaṅkaradēva Oḍeya was a predecessor of Gautarasa in the office of the governorship of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya.

² *Ibid.*, No. 231.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 303.

Bukka I's reign ended in A.D. 1377. His latest inscription⁴ found in South Kanara is from Bārakūru and is dated Śaka 1298, Naḷa, Kārttika śu. 3, Thursday=A.D. 1376, October 16.

While, for the reign of Harihara I, we have only the Kāntāvara and Udiṇi records, for the reign of his successor Bukka I we have, apart from the earliest and latest records of his reign from Attāvara and Bārakūru, twenty-nine more inscriptions which directly refer themselves to his reign. Most of these records register gifts of land and/or money to various deities and/or *brāhmaṇas* either by the emperor or by his governor or by private individuals. But an inscription⁵ from Keragāl, Coondapur Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Sarvajit, Vaiśākha ba. 5, Monday=A.D. 1347, April 30, without making any reference to the reigning emperor, records the interesting fact that two individuals Gōvinda and Kṛishṇa by name, made some grants to the god Tirumūrti in expiation of the sin of killing a *brāhmaṇa* when *Mahāpradhāna* Maleya-daṇṇāyaka was governing the Bārakūru-rājya from his headquarters at Bārahakanyāpura.

From Udiṇi comes the earliest copper-plate inscription⁶ as yet discovered in South Kanara. Dated in Śaka 1275, Nandana, Mārgaśira śu. 2, Saturday=A.D. 1352, November 10, it belongs to the reign of Bukka I but refers only to his governor in Bārakūru-rājya, Maleya-daṇṇāyaka. The charter registers a deed of land partition effected in the presence of the said governor by three private individuals.

The only informations, important for the political history of South Kanara, to be gathered from these inscriptions are the names of the governors who were appointed by the emperors to rule over the Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru *rājyas*. Of these, Bārakūru-rājya comprised the Udiṇi and Coondapur Taluks while in the Maṅgalūru-rājya were included the Mangalore, Karkala, Puttur and Kasargode Taluks.

The names of the governors who ruled over these two

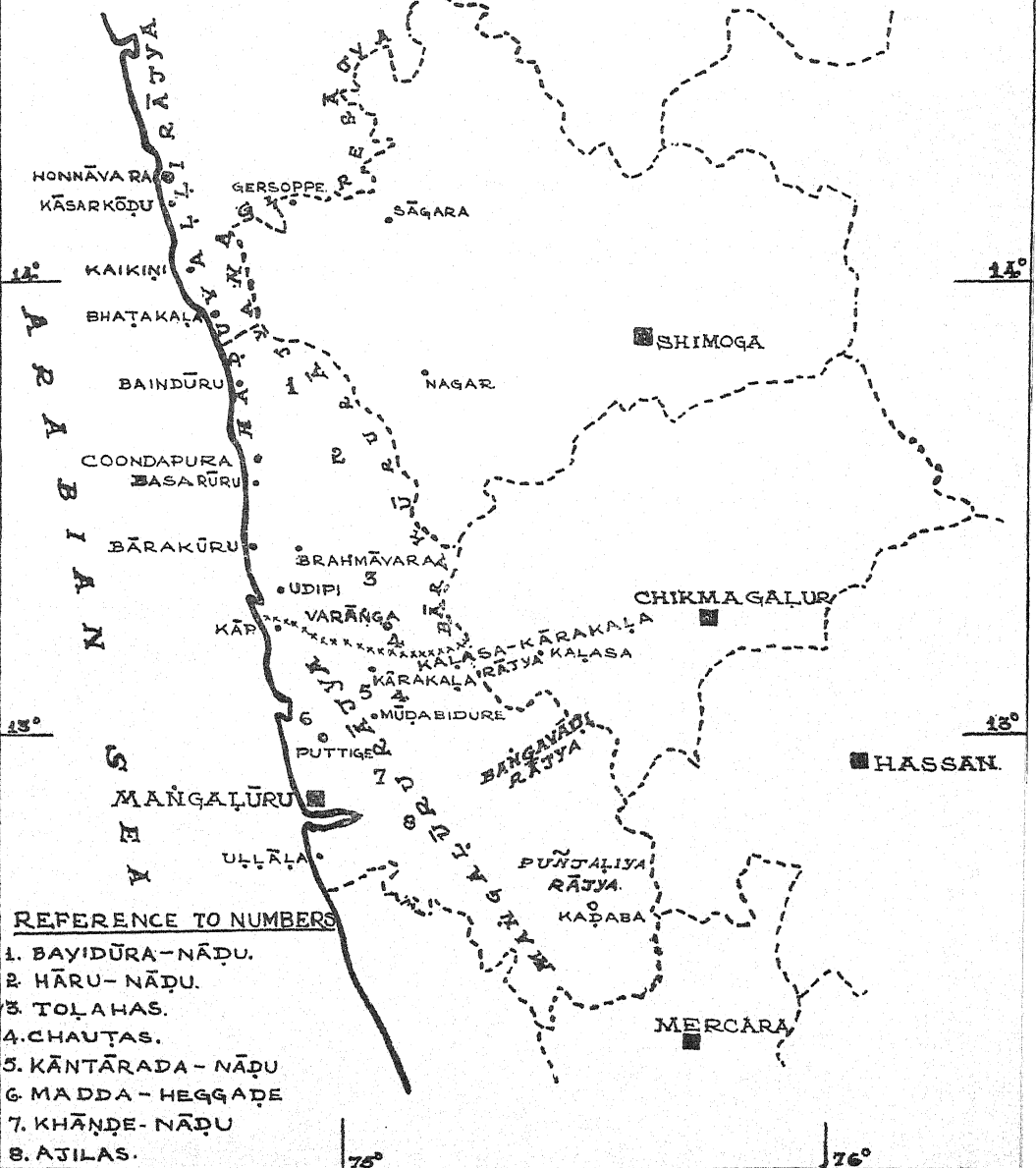
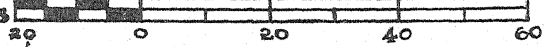
⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 341.

⁵ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, No. 621.

⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, App. A. No. 16.

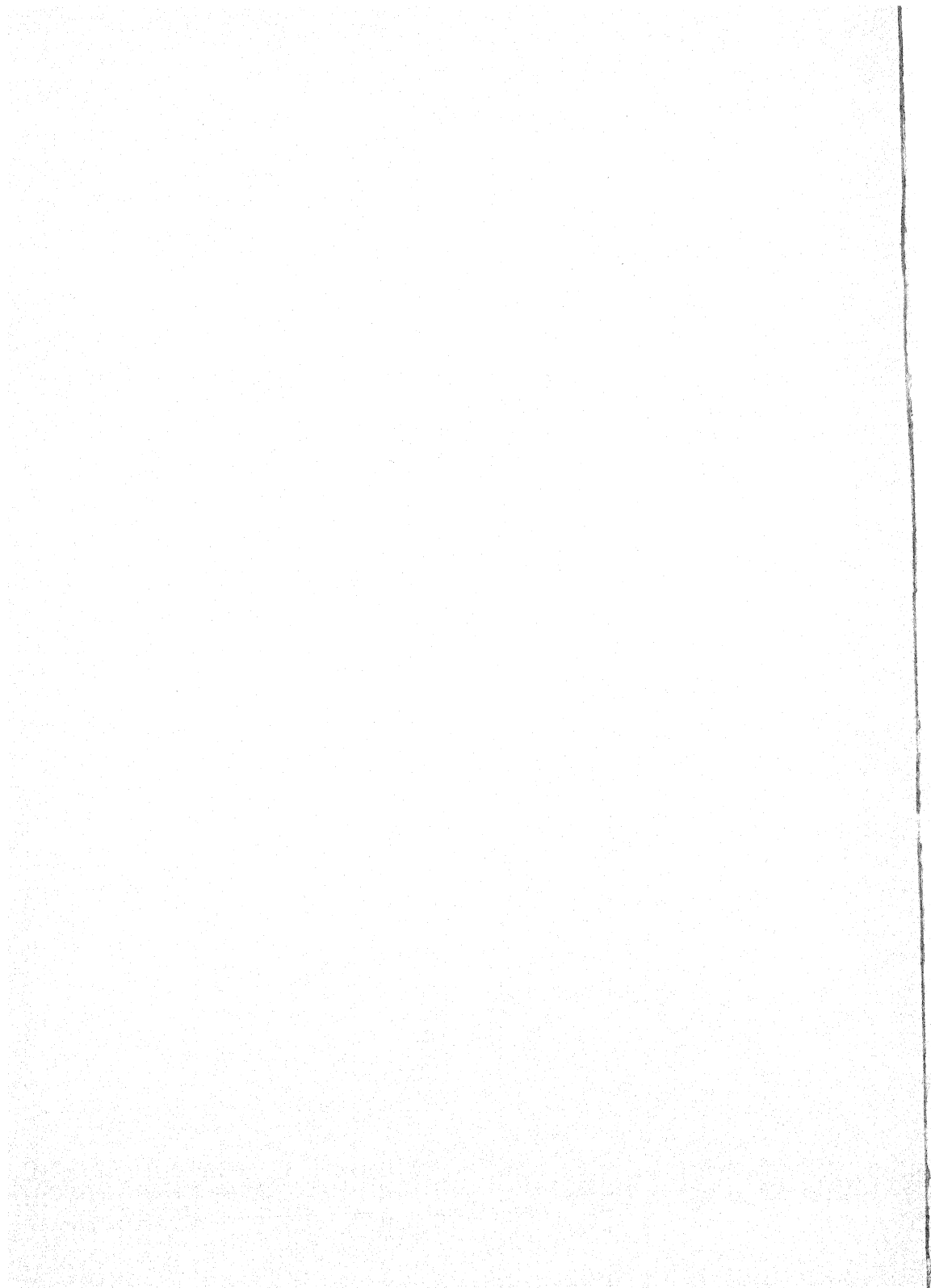
SOUTH KANARA DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

SCALE OF MILES



REFERENCE TO NUMBERS

1. BAYIDŪRA-NĀḌU.
2. HĀRU-NĀḌU.
3. TOḶAHAS.
4. CHAUṬAS.
5. KĀNTĀRADA-NĀḌU
6. MADDA-HEGGAḌE
7. KHĀṆḌE-NĀḌU
8. AḶILAS.



rājyas under Harihara I and Bukka I are given below along with their earliest and latest known dates:

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	January 17, A.D.	October 3, A.D.
Maleya-danṇāyaka	1345 ⁷	1365 ⁸
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	December 15,	October 21, A.D.
Gōparasa-Oḍeya	A.D. 1366 ⁹	1373 ¹⁰
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	October 16,
Bācharasa-Oḍeya	A.D. 1376 ¹¹	

Maṅgaḷūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya	January 17, A.D. 1345 ⁷
<i>Haḍapada</i>	April 29,	
Gautarasa	A.D. 1348 ¹²
Mādarasa	August 19, A.D. 1364 ¹³
Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya	June 14, A.D. 1375 ¹⁴	October 26, A.D. 1375 ¹⁵

Maleya-danṇāyaka, who governed the Bārakūru-rājya *i.e.* the northern half of the Āḷupa kingdom for over two decades, right from the time of the region's annexation by the rulers of Vijayanagara, and who had for his headquarters the Āḷupa

⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 179.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 332.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 306.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 415.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 341.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 231.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 408.

¹⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 475.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 460. This governor continued in office even after Bukka I's reign.

capital of Bārakūru itself, must have contributed much towards the establishment of imperial authority over the Tuḷu country. Bārakūru offers the strange picture of having been the seat of three powers until in A.D. 1348 one of them, Chikkāyi-Tāyi, the queen of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III, makes her exit. During the governorship of Maleya-daṇṇāyaka, the Āḷupa throne had been occupied by three successive rulers, Kulaśēkhara II (A.D. 1335-46), Baṅkidēva III (A.D. 1346-55) and Kulaśēkhara III (A.D. 1355-90). The Vijayanagara and the Āḷupa inscriptions contain no references whatever to each other and this may be interpreted to mean that each was holding its power independent of the other. It is, however, certain that, with the advent of Vijayanagara authority, the Āḷupas were relegated to the position of an unimportant and inconsequential power. This is proved by the numerous Vijayanagara inscriptions which appear during this period in South Kanara as against only a handful of Āḷupa records.

It is also likely that the Āḷupas had lost all their military initiative and continued to rule only under imperial sufferance. It is significant, in this context, that the appellation *daṇṇāyaka* (= *daṇḍa-nāyaka* i.e. army general) is applied to Maleya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

Bukka I was succeeded by his son Harihara II in A.D. 1377. His earliest inscription¹⁶ in South Kanara is from Baṇtvāl-Mūḍa, Mangalore Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1299, Piṅgaḷa, Simha 10, Saturday = A.D. 1377, August 8. Harihara II is known to have reigned till A.D. 1404 and his latest inscription¹⁷ found in South Kanara, from Atrāḍi, Udupi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1327, Tāraṇa, Vaiśākha śu. 8, Thursday = A.D. 1404, April 18, Friday (and not Thursday). The names of the governors who were appointed during his reign to administer the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* as also their known dates are given below:

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 519.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 238.

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Bommarasa- Oḍeya	November 2, A.D. 1377 ¹⁸	A.D. 1380-81 ¹⁹
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Jakkanna- Oḍeya	April 28, A.D. 1382 ²⁰	May 22, A.D. 1384 ²¹
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Mallappa- Oḍeya	January 2, A.D. 1386 ²²
<i>Pradhāni</i> Jakkanna- Oḍeya	September 18, A.D. 1386 ²³
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Mallappa- Oḍeya	May 3, A.D. 1387 ²⁴	February 16, A.D. 1390 ²⁵
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Siṅgaṇṇa- Oḍeya	July 29, A.D. 1392 ²⁶
Śaṅkaradēva- Oḍeya <i>alias</i> <i>Heggade</i> Śaṅkarasa	April 12, A.D. 1393 ²⁷	April 2, A.D. 1394 ²⁸
Mallappa- Oḍeya	March 8, A.D. 1395 ²⁹	July 7, A.D. 1396 ³⁰

¹⁸ *SII.*, Vol. IX, Part II, No. 417.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 325. The only details of date given in the record are Śaka 1302, Raudri.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 329.

²¹ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 357.

²² *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 351.

²³ *Ibid.*, No. 312.

²⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 497.

²⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 353.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 244.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 356.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 299.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 363.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 342.

<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	July 4,	
Nāgarasa-Oḍeya	A.D. 1399 ³¹	
Basavaṇṇa-	August 11,	September 6,
Oḍeya	A.D. 1400 ³²	A.D. 1403 ³³
Mahābaḷadēva-	February 12,
Oḍeya	A.D. 1404 ³⁴	
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	April 18,
Basavaṇṇa-Oḍeya	A.D. 1404 ³⁵	

Maṅgaḷūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Paṇḍaridēva	August 8, A. D. 1377 ³⁶	...
Mādarasa	December 4, A. D. 1379 ³⁷	...
Vira-Chaṇṇarasa-	October 29,	...
Oḍeya	A. D. 1385 ³⁸	
Maṅgarasa	March 26, A. D. 1388 ³⁹	...
Mallarasa	April 5, A. D. 1389 ⁴⁰	...
Maṅgarasa-	June 11,	...
Oḍeya	A. D. 1390 ⁴¹	
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	December 8,	...
Liṅgarasa-Oḍeya	A. D. 1390 ⁴²	

³¹ *Ibid.*, No. 350.

³² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 423.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 270.

³⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 486.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 238.

³⁶ *SIL.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 416.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 418.

³⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 531.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 474.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 465.

⁴¹ *SIL.*, Vol. VII, No. 229.

⁴² *ARSIE.*, 1958-59, No. 652.

<i>Haḍapada</i>	June 28,	January 19,
<i>Mādarasa</i>	A. D. 1396 ⁴³	A. D. 1398 ⁴⁴
<i>Basavaṇṇa- Oḍeya</i>	January 13, A. D. 1404 ⁴⁵	...
<i>Nāgaṇṇa-Oḍeya</i>	March 26, A.D. 1404 ⁴⁶	...

From the above lists, we learn that changes in the office of the governors of the two *rājyas* were frequently effected and that the same person was eligible for reappointment to the post after intervals. Such were the cases with Mallappa-Oḍeya who governed Bārakūru-rājya for three different terms, Jakkanna-Oḍeya who administered the same territory on two different occasions and Maṅgarasa-Oḍeya who served as governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya twice.

Two inscriptions⁴⁷ from Bārakūru, dated respectively Śaka 1308, Kshaya, Māgha śu. 1, Tuesday = A.D. 1386, January 2, and Śaka 1310, Prabhava, Āshāḍha śu. 1, Monday = A.D. 1387, June 17, declare that Mallappa-Oḍeya was governing, from his capital at Bārakūru, the Tuḷu, Haive and Koṅkaṇa *rājyas*. By Tuḷu-rājya is obviously meant the whole of the Tuḷu country comprising the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas*. This phenomenon of these two *rājyas* being united into one unit and brought under the administration of one governor will be seen repeating itself in the later reigns of the empire. Haive is the southern parts of the North Kanara District while Koṅkaṇa is represented by the northern parts of the district lying south of Goa. Many inscriptions from territories adjacent to South Kanara show that the governor of the Bārakūru-rājya was simultaneously administering these regions, a fact which finds only very rare mention in the records from South Kanara itself.

⁴³ *SIL.*, Vol. VII, No. 183.

⁴⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 469. This record states that Mādarasa was the son of Paṇḍaridēva who may be identified with his namesake who served as governor of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya earlier in A.D. 1375-77.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 464.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 470.

⁴⁷ *SIL.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 351 and 347 respectively.

An interesting inscription⁴⁸ from Nilāvāra, Udipi Taluk, dated in Śaka 1310, Prabhava, Vaiśākha śu. 15, Friday = A.D. 1387, May 3, refers to Mallappa-Oḍeya as merely ruling over the city of Bārahakanyāpura (*Bārahakanyāpurada nagaraman-āle*). It further states that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Kumāra* Pratāpa-Bukkarāya was ruling over *Nīruvāra-Paṁchamiya-grāma*. This Bukkarāya is, no doubt, identical with Harihara II's second son Bukka II who reigned for a short time as one of his father's successors.

Another inscription⁴⁹ from Bārakūru, dated Śaka 1308, Kshaya, Bhādrapada ba. 10, Wednesday = A.D. 1386, September 18, Tuesday (and not Wednesday) states that Jakkaṇṇa-Oḍeya, who was governing the Bārakūru-rājya, was the *pradhāni* of Mudda-daṇṇāyaka, the *mahāpradhāna* of Harihara II. It will be seen below that some of the governors in the Tuḷu country were appointed by senior officers who held high positions under the emperors. In this instance, Mudda-daṇṇāyaka may have been placed in charge of the Tuḷu country and he, in his turn, appointed his own subordinate officers to govern the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas*.

Yet another inscription⁵⁰ from Bārakūru, dated Śaka 1314 (expired), 1315 (current), Āṅgīrasa, Śrāvaṇa śu. 10, Monday = A.D. 1392, July 29, states that *Mahāpradhāna* Siṁgaṇṇa-Oḍeya was administering the Tuḷu and Malaha *rājyas* from his headquarters at Bārakūru. In this case again, the Tuḷu country comprised the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* and by Malaha was meant, in all probability, North Malabar in Kerala State.

An inscription⁵¹ from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1324, Vishu, Śrāvaṇa śu. 12, Sunday = A.D. 1401, July 22, Friday (and not Sunday) states that Basavaṇṇa-Oḍeya was administering the *rājya* from his headquarters at Bārakūru under the grace (*sva-kāruṇya*) of *Mahāpradhāna* Gōpeya-daṇṇāyaka-Oḍeya who is described as the *pāda-padm-*

⁴⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 497.

⁴⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 317.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 344.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 425.

ōpajīvi of Harihara II. It is clear from this that Basavaṇṇa-Oḍeya owed his appointment to the *Mahāpradhāna*.

Among the governors of Maṅgalūru-rājya listed above, Paṇḍaridēva had served under Bukka I also.

An inscription⁵² from Tiruvailu, Mangalore Taluk, dated Śaka 1312, Śukla, Mēsha 11, Monday = A.D. 1389, April 5 and referring to the administration of Mallarasa over Maṅgalūru-rājya records a grant to the temple of Amṛitanātha by Padumaladēvi, the daughter (*kumāri*) of Kāmadēvarasa who claims to belong to the *Mukkaṇṇa-Kadamba-vaṁśa*. It is not stated in the record if Kāmadēvarasa was ruling over the region as a feudatory.

An inscription⁵³ from Mūḍabidure, Karkala Taluk, dated Śaka 1312, Śukla, Mithuna 15, Friday = A.D. 1390, June 11, Saturday (and not Friday) mentions Maṅgarasa-Oḍeya as the governor of Maṅgalūru-rājya and Mañjaṇṇa-adhikāri as administering the region of Bidire (*i.e.* modern Mūḍabidure). The inscription records a gift of land to Chaṇḍōgra-Pārśvadēva during the reign of the Chauṭa ruler Vikra-Chauṭa. Vikra appears to have been wrongly engraved for Vikrama.

The Chauṭas were a minor family of Jaina chieftains who ruled over a small territory in the Tuḷu country from the 12th to the 18th centuries. Their territory was around Uḷḷāla near Mangalore and they had for one of their capitals Sōmēśvara near Uḷḷāla. The earliest members of this family, whose names and dates are known, are as follows:⁵⁴

Tirumalarāya
(A. D. 1160-79)

Chennarāya
(A. D. 1179-1219)

Dēvarāya
(A. D. 1219-45)

⁵² *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 465.

⁵³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 229.

⁵⁴ *QJMS.*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 69-71.

The names and dates of the immediate successors of Dēva-rāya-Chauṭa are not known. Vikra-Chauṭa appears to have set up his headquarters at Mūdabidure.

Two inscriptions⁵⁵ from Kaikiṇi, Bhatkal Taluk, North Kanara District, bear witness to the earliest recorded rebellion in the Tuḷu country against the imperial authority of Vijayanagara. Both these records belong to the reign of Harihara II and are dated in the cyclic year Bahudhānya, Pushya śu. 1, Thursday=A.D. 1398, December 10, Tuesday (and not Thursday). These two inscriptions are in the nature of hero-stones commemorating the heroic death, no doubt in the same battle, of Jakkaṇṇa-nāyaka and his son Tamma-nāyaka, whose deaths are recorded in one inscription, and of Jakkaṇṇa-nāyaka, the son of Bommaṇṇa-nāyaka, the *rājaguru* of Nagire, whose death is recorded in the other. The battle which brought about these deaths is important for the history of South Kanara and hence needs to be studied in detail.

Both the inscriptions state, in identical terms, that on the given date *Mahāpradhāni* Maṅgapa-daṇṇāyaka carried his arms into Tuḷu-rājya and encamped at Bidire and that he subsequently routed the Chavaṭa (*i.e.* Chauṭa) forces. Having achieved this victory against the Chauṭas, Maṅgapa ordered his men to escort back the forces of *Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Hayivarasa of Nagire. When this was being done, the Chauṭas fell upon the invaders and in the battle which ensued, the heroes, commemorated in the two records, fought valiantly and, after overwhelming the Chauṭas, fell and died.

It is thus clear from the above inscriptions that the imperial forces under Maṅgapa-daṇṇāyaka were supported by the army of the Nagire chief Hayivarasa in their fight against the Chauṭas. Harihara II was a powerful monarch and it is surprising that a minor chieftain of the Tuḷu country should have chosen to question his authority. Maṅgapa-daṇṇāyaka was perhaps stationed with an army in the Haive region of North Kanara and brought along with him the forces of Hayivarasa at the

⁵⁵ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 35 and 36.

time of invading the Tuḷu country. The name of the Chauṭa chieftain who was thus defeated is not given in the records. It may have been Vikra-Chauṭa of the Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1390, discussed above, or his successor.

Haivarasa belonged to the family of Jaina chieftains who ruled over the Nagire-rājya comprising the southern extremes of the North Kanara District and the northern extremes of the South Kanara District. The ruling house of Nagire was one of the families which held sway over small principalities in the South and North Kanara Districts during the Vijayanagara period and which associated themselves with the dynastic name of Sāḷuva. Inscriptions of the Nagire chiefs found in South and North Kanara Districts claim that Nagire-rājya and its capitals Geresoppe and Nagire were situated in the Tuḷu country.⁵⁶

By A.D. 1404, in which year the reign of Harihara II came to its end, the Āḷupa power appears to have virtually disappeared. It has been shown in the previous chapter that the last known Āḷupa ruler was Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva II and that his only known inscription belongs to A.D. 1397.

Harihara II was succeeded by his eldest son Virūpāksha I who ruled for a short period in A.D. 1404-05. His only inscription⁵⁷ found in South Kanara is from Hachavettu, Karkala Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1326, Tāraṇa, Makara 6, Thursday, Solar eclipse = A.D. 1405, January 1. It merely records a grant of land to the temple of Mahādēva at Iṭṭala by one Kāntaṇa-Mārāḷuva *alias* Koṇṇa and makes no reference to the governor of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya.

Virūpāksha I was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Bukka II who reigned for less than two years in A.D. 1405-06. His earliest inscription⁵⁸ in South Kanara is from Bārakūru and is dated Śaka 1328, Pārthiva, *dvitīya* Āshāḍha

⁵⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 202 and 207; *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 41, 49 etc.

⁵⁷ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 519.

⁵⁸ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 349.

śu. 1, Saturday=A.D. 1405, June 27 while his latest record⁵⁹ comes from Mūḍabidure, Karkala Taluk, and is dated in Śaka 1329, Vyaya, Bhādrapada śu. 10, Wednesday=A.D. 1406, August 24, Tuesday (and not Wednesday).

The Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1405 is of special interest. We gather from this record that Mahābaladēva who was the governor of Bārakūrurājya in A.D. 1404 even when Harihara II was emperor, had seriously interfered with the office and functions of the *seṭṭitana* of the *halaru* of *hattukēri* who included the *nakhara-haṅjamāna* of the city of Bārakūru. An appeal was, in consequence, made to Bukka II who directed *Mahāpradhāna* Bāchaṇṇa of Gōve (i.e. Goa) to enquire into the affair. Bāchaṇṇa, accordingly, paid a visit to Bārakūru and, after conducting an enquiry, arranged for compensations to the aggrieved parties. The record tells us that the appeal to the emperor was made by Chikkaṇṇa who was the *sthānapati* of the *hattukēri* of Bārakūru. This incident clearly proves that the people of the locality were not helpless against imperial officers when the latter were in the wrong.

Bāchaṇṇa-Oḍeya, who came from Gōve to settle this problem, was subsequently made the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.⁶⁰ He was also appointed governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya as is revealed from a copper plate inscription⁶¹ from Kukke, Puttur Taluk, which belongs to the reign of Bukka II and is dated Śaka 1329, Vyaya, Chaitra śu. 1 probably=A.D. 1406, March 21, Sunday. The text of this inscription gives his name as Bāchappa-Oḍeya but he signs his name towards the end of the record as Bāchaṇṇa. Bukka II's inscription from Mūḍabidure states that Bāchappa-Oḍeya was governing Maṅgaḷūru-rājya during the *pradhānike* of *Mahāpradhāna* Jommaṇa-daṇṇāyaka. The latter was probably in overall charge of the two coastal provinces of the empire.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 211.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 435.

⁶¹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, App. A, No. 3. The name of the governor is wrongly read here as Bāvappa-Oḍeya.

Bukka II was succeeded sometime in A.D. 1406 by his younger brother Dēvarāya I who is known to have reigned upto A.D. 1422. His earliest inscription⁶² in South Kanara is from Nilāvāra, Udipi Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1330 Sarvajit, Āśvayuja ba. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1407, September 18, while his latest available record⁶³ from that region is from Paḍuvāri, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1344, Plava, Kārttika śu. 1, Monday = A.D. 1421, October 27. Dēvarāya I's early inscriptions from the Bārakūru region reveal that Bāchaṇṇa-Oḍeya was continued in the office of governor of the Bārakūru-rājya. The names and dates of the governors of the two rājyas during the reigns of Virūpāksha I, Bukka II and Dēvarāya I are given below:

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>		
Bāchaṇṇa or Bāchappa-Oḍeya of Gōve	June 27, A. D. 1405 ⁶⁴	December, A. D. 1411 ⁶⁵
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya	February 12, A. D. 1408 ⁶⁶	October 8, A. D. 1420 ⁶⁷

Maṅgaḷūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>		
Bāchaṇṇa or Bāchappa-Oḍeya of Gōve	March 21, A. D. 1406 ⁶⁸	August 24, A. D. 1406 ⁶⁹
Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya	June 2, A. D. 1410 ⁷⁰	...

⁶² *Ibid.*, App. B, No. 498.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 545.

⁶⁴ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 349.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 435.

⁶⁶ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 37.

⁶⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 365.

⁶⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, App. A, No. 3.

⁶⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 211.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 259.

<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	October 14,	January 17,
Kēsappa-Oḍeya	A. D. 1414 ⁷¹	A. D. 1417 ⁷²
Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya	April 18, A. D. 1417 ⁷³	...
Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya	March 8, A. D. 1418 ⁷⁴	...
<i>Haḍapada</i>	August 31, A. D. 1418 ⁷⁵	...
Nāgaṇṇa-Oḍeya		

Of the governors of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, Kēsappa-Oḍeya is stated in an inscription⁷⁶ as appointed to the post by *Mahāpradhāna* Bayichaya-daṇḍanāyaka. The latter appears to have enjoyed for a long time a position of importance in the Tulu country. The earliest reference to Bayichaya-daṇḍanāyaka is to be found in the Nīlāvara inscription of A.D. 1387, of the reign of Harihara II. We have pointed out above that this epigraph refers to the rule of the prince Bukka II over Nīruvāra-pañchamiya-grāma. It refers to Bayichaya as one of the donors. Another inscription⁷⁷ from Bārakūru, belonging to A.D. 1389, refers to him as *Mahāpradhāna* Bayichaya-daṇṇāyaka and records a gift by his son Sarvappa-daṇṇāyaka. Yet another inscription⁷⁸ from Mangalore, belonging to March, A.D. 1418, states that Dēvarāya I conferred the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya on Bayichadaṇṇāyaka and that the latter, in his turn, appointed Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya as its governor.

In April 1417 A.D., Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya is stated⁷⁹ to be ruling over the Maṅgaḷūru and Bārakūru *rājyas*. However, a number of inscriptions dated between A.D. 1413 and 1420 refer to Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. Moreover, no other records referring to Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya have come

⁷¹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 471.

⁷² *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. B, No. 638.

⁷³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 261.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 182.

⁷⁵ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. B, No. 637.

⁷⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 471.

⁷⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 391.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 182.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 261.

down to us. It is, therefore, likely that he was only the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya and that, during Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya's brief absence elsewhere, he was in charge of the Bārakūru-rājya also.

Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya, the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya was, like Mahābaladēva, one of his predecessors in that office, involved in an affair with the *Hañjamāna*. The inscription⁸⁰ which records this incident belongs to A.D. 1418 and narrates that, while they were conducting themselves in accordance with established rules and custom, Timmaṇṇa, for no reason whatever, attacked the *Hañjamāna* with his soldiers and laid waste four or five villages which were under their jurisdiction. This news having reached the ears of the emperor, the general and Bayicha-danṇāyaka, they were pleased to instruct Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya to offer reparations to the suffering *Hañjamāna*. The latter obeyed the instruction after holding an enquiry with the help of his *pradhānis*, the Chautā, the Baṅga and the Ajila chieftains and the *samasta-kattāle*.

Dēvarāya I was succeeded for a short time in A.D. 1422 by his elder son Rāmachandra. South Kanara has yielded only one inscription⁸¹ belonging to his reign. It is from Kuttūr, a hamlet of Hegguñje in Udipi Taluk, and bears the date Śaka 1345, Śubhakṛit, Chaitra ba. 8, Tuesday = A.D. 1422, April 14. It records a gift of land to god Mahādēva by a private individual when Haridēva-Oḍeya was governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

In the same year (A.D. 1422) Rāmachandra was succeeded by his younger brother Vijayarāya I. His earliest inscription⁸² from South Kanara is to be found at Kadiri, Mangalore Taluk, and it is three weeks earlier in date to the inscription of Rāmachandra mentioned above. It may be concluded from this that the latter was not expected to reign for any length of time, perhaps owing to some mortal illness, and that his younger

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 182.

⁸¹ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 317.

⁸² *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 192.

brother Vijayarāya I was associated with him right from the beginning of his reign as joint ruler. The Kadiri inscription is dated Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Chaitra śu. 1, Sunday=A.D. 1422, March 23, Monday (and not Sunday) and the king is named therein as Vijaya-Bhūpatirāya. We learn from this record that Nāgaṇṇa, who had served under Dēvarāya I as the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, continued in the same office. In this instance, however, he is stated to have been appointed to the post by *Mahāpradhāna* Bayicha-daṇṇāyaka whose position of importance in the Tuḷu country has been already alluded to. Another inscription⁸³ from the same place and belonging to the same reign is dated in Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Phālguna śu. 5, Monday=A.D. 1423, February 15 and it refers to Nāgaṇṇa-Oḍeya's administration over Maṅgaḷūru-rājya under orders from Bayicha-daṇṇāyaka.

The latest available record⁸⁴ for this reign is from Hosāḷa, Udupi Taluk. It is dated Kali 4524, Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Bhādrapada ba. 8, Saturday=A.D. 1423, August 28, F.D.T. · 16 and gives the name of the king as Vijaya-Bukkarāya. Virup-aṇṇa-Oḍeya is herein stated to be governing Bārakūru-rājya.

The exact reign period of Vijayarāya is difficult to fix. It is generally believed⁸⁵ that he may have ruled for about five years until A.D. 1426. His son and successor, Dēvarāya II, was actively associated with him in the administration of the empire and, at least as far as South Kanara was concerned, he appears to have been considered as the monarch after the date of the Hosāḷa inscription of Vijayarāya.

The earliest inscription⁸⁶ of Dēvarāya II is also from Hosāḷa and is dated Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Kārttika śu. 12, Sunday=A.D. 1423, October 16, Saturday (and not Sunday). Dēvarāya II is taken⁸⁷ to have ended his reign in A.D. 1446.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, No. 195.

⁸⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 266.

⁸⁵ *A History of South India*, II end., p. 259.

⁸⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 265.

⁸⁷ *A History of South India*, II edn., p. 261.

However, the latest date for Dēvarāya II, as given in an inscription⁸⁸ from Bārakūru, is Śaka 1371 (expired), 1372 (current), Śukla, Chaitra ba. 10 probably=A.D. 1449 April 18, Friday. The contents of this record show that the inscription should not be dismissed as a freak.

It is known that towards the end of his reign, a plot was hatched by his own brother to murder Dēvarāya II by administering poison. Though the plot failed to achieve its main purpose, Dēvarāya may have fallen seriously ill. The Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1449 states that Rāyarasa-Oḍeya, who was then the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, went, at the bidding of the emperor, to the shores of the Western sea and made a grant of 68 *kāṭi-gadyāṇas* (gold pieces) in order that the peril which the emperor faced may cease (*Immaḍi Dēvarāya-mahārāyarige baṁdamthā kaṁṭaka nishkaṇṭakav-āgi āyushy-ābhivṛiddhi āgabēk-emdu*). From this we may conclude that though Dēvarāya II survived the plot in which many of his trusted officers lost their lives, he fell a victim to some serious illness. The Bārakūru inscription states that the grant by Rāyarasa-Oḍeya was made on the occasion of solar eclipse. The reference is obviously to the solar eclipse which occurred on Thursday, the 29th of August, A.D. 1448. It is thus certain that Dēvarāya II was still fighting for his life at least on the latter date. The possibility of Dēvarāya II having ruled upto A.D. 1449 is further strengthened by the occurrence of a few more inscriptions elsewhere of Dēvarāya and belonging to the period A.D. 1446-49.⁸⁹ That Mallikārjuna makes his appearance even in A.D. 1447 as emperor should be interpreted to mean that Dēvarāya's illness was serious enough for him to have had his son crowned emperor even during his own life-time.

The names and dates of the governors of the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* during the reigns of Rāmachandra, Vijayarāya I and Dēvarāya II are as follows:-

⁸⁸ *SHI.*, Vol. VII, No. 337.

⁸⁹ Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 79.

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Haridēva-Oḍeya	April 14, A. D. 1422 ⁹⁰	...
Virupaṇṇa-Oḍeya	December 8, A. D. 1422 ⁹¹	October 16, A. D. 1423 ⁹²
<i>Mahāmantri</i> Narasimhadēva-Oḍeya	March 15, A. D. 1425 ⁹³	September 18, A. D. 1428 ⁹⁴
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Timmanna-Oḍeya	May 1, A. D. 1427 ⁹⁵	...
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Chañdarasa-Oḍeya	September 12, A. D. 1430 ⁹⁶	April, A. D. 1434 ⁹⁷
Purushōttamadēva	November 6, A. D. 1433 ⁹⁸	
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya	November 25, A. D. 1434 ⁹⁹	April 16, A. D. 1439 ¹⁰⁰
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Chañdarasa-Oḍeya	January 19, A. D. 1440 ¹⁰¹	February 20, A. D. 1442 ¹⁰²
Timmanna-Oḍeya	October 5, A. D. 1442 ¹⁰³	December 14, A. D. 1444 ¹⁰⁴
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Ācharasa-Oḍeya	April 11, A. D. 1446 ¹⁰⁵	May 1, A. D. 1446 ¹⁰⁶

⁹⁰ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 317.

⁹¹ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 52.

⁹² *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 265.

⁹³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 384.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 288.

⁹⁵ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 48.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 39.

⁹⁷ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 246.

⁹⁸ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 53 and 55.

⁹⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 245.

¹⁰⁰ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 318.

¹⁰¹ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 244.

¹⁰² *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 448.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 367.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 450.

¹⁰⁵ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 58.

¹⁰⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 553.

Ruppaṇṇa-Oḍeya	April 30, A. D. 1447 ¹⁰⁷	October 10, A. D. 1447 ¹⁰⁸
Rāyarasa-Oḍeya	August 29, A. D. 1448 ¹⁰⁹	April 2, A. D. 1449 ¹¹⁰

Maṅgaḷūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Nāgaṇṇa-Oḍeya	August 31, A. D. 1418 ¹¹¹	February 15, A. D. 1423 ¹¹²
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Timmeraṇṇa-Oḍeya	May 1, A. D. 1427 ¹¹³	October 28, A. D. 1430 ¹¹⁵
Dēvarāja-Oḍeya of Nāgamaṅgala	January 29, A. D. 1430 ¹¹⁴	October 28, A. D. 1430 ¹¹⁵
Aṇṇappa, son of Dēvarāja	November 10, A. D. 1431 ¹¹⁶	...
Dēvarāja-Oḍeya	October 25, A. D. 1432 ¹¹⁷	June 28, A. D. 1433 ¹¹⁸
Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya	April 13, A.D. 1439 ¹¹⁹	...
Chaṇḍarasa-Oḍeya	May 31, A. D. 1440 ¹²⁰	...
Triyaṁbakadēva- Oḍeya	March 13, A. D. 1442 ¹²¹	...

¹⁰⁷ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 451.

¹⁰⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 590.

¹⁰⁹ The solar eclipse, on which occasion Rāyarasa is stated to have made the grant, occurred on this date. See *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 337.

¹¹⁰ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 337.

¹¹¹ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. B, No. 637.

¹¹² *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 195.

¹¹³ *Karnātak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 48.

¹¹⁴ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 196.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 442.

¹¹⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 344.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 349.

¹¹⁸ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 230.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 313.

¹²⁰ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 346. The name of the governor is wrongly given here as Aṇṇarasa-Oḍeya.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 467.

Among the governors of Bārakūru-rājya, Narasimhadēva-Oḍeya is stated in an inscription¹²² to be ruling under the orders of Hariyappa-daṇṇāyaka-Oḍeya. This record further states that a grant, made earlier by one Dēvaṇṇa-sēnabōva to the god Kundēśvara of Coondapur having fallen into misuse, the governor summoned the *grāma*, *jagattu* etc., and after due enquiry, restored the grant without, at the same time, any loss to the income of the palace.

An inscription¹²³ from Kaikiṇi, North Kanara District, states that Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya was administering the Haive, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa *rājyas* from his headquarters at Honnāvara.

Chaṇḍarasa was appointed governor on two occasions, first during A.D. 1430-34 and again during A.D. 1440-42. Inscriptions belonging to the period of his first tenure in office declare that he was governing Bārakūru-Tuḷurājya. By this is obviously meant only the Bārakūru-rājya for, during the period in question (A.D. 1430-34), Maṅgaḷūru-rājya had its own governors. On the second occasion, however, he was made governor of both the *rājyas*.

During Chaṇḍarasa's governorship in A.D. 1430,¹²⁴ a serious difference arose between the inhabitants of *chauḷiyakēri* and *mūrukēri*, two adjacent parts of the city of Bārakūru. The feud resulted from a controversy over the utilisation of crops and other groceries coming from beyond the Ghāṭṣ. Since the controversy had resulted in armed fights, the governor summoned to his court the five *halaru* of *chauḷiyakēri* and the three *seṭṭikāṇas* and the *samasta-halaru* of *mūrukēri* and effected a compromise between the contending groups. They accordingly undertook never again to use violence in settling their differences.

In January, A.D. 1432, Chaṇḍarasa-Oḍeya is stated¹²⁵ to be governing Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of Dēvarāya II and Perumāladēva-daṇṇāyaka both of whom, according to the

¹²² *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 441.

¹²³ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 48.

¹²⁴ *SII.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 309 and 340.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 378.

record, were ruling the empire from Vijayanagara. Perumāḷa-dēva-daṇṇāyaka was apparently a very high official, next in importance only to the emperor himself.

It has been shown above that Anṇappa-Oḍeya was governing Bārakūru-rājya during A.D. 1434-39 and that in A.D. 1439, he was also governing Maṅgaḷūru-rājya. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it may be reasonably supposed that he was at the same time governing both the *rājyas* during A.D. 1434-39. This is supported by the fact that even as early as in A.D. 1431, he was governing Maṅgaḷūru-rājya.

A copper-plate inscription¹²⁶ from Surāla, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1358, Rākshasa, Margaśira śu. 14, Sunday=A.D. 1435, December 4, states that Anṇappa-Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, made a gift of land called *Aṃpāra-haravari* and of certain tolls in Muṅga-nāḍu, a subdivision of Bārakūru-rājya, to Toḷahara Śaṅkara-nāyaka, who was administering Yeḷare, with the stipulation that the latter should, in return, build a *maṭha* attached to the temple of Nārāyaṇadēva at Bārakūru and feed therein six *Brāhmaṇas* daily. A stone inscription¹²⁷ from Hosāḷa, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1359, Naḷa, Kārttika śu. 2, Friday=A.D. 1436, October 12 records the gift of the same piece of land, with the king's permission, by Toḷahara Śaṅkara-nāyaka to the temple of Nārāyaṇadēva in the *hattukēri* (i.e. Bārakūru) of the Tuḷu-rājya for feeding seven *brāhmaṇas* daily, while Anṇappa was governing the Bārakūru-rājya.

A reference was made in Chapter IV above to the minor ruling family of Toḷahas while discussing the Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1139 of the reign of Kavi-Āḷupēndra. The next time we hear of a member of this family is in a record¹²⁸ from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa (Coondapur Taluk) which mentions one Mādāḍi-Toḷaha. He is not, however, referred to as the ruler of any territory. Barring the above records, the Surāla

¹²⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, App. A, No. 3.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, App. B, No. 263.

¹²⁸ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 425.

copper-plate and the Hosāla inscription are the earliest to refer again to the Toḷaha family and Śaṅkara-nāyaka is the second known name among its members. The Toḷaha principality was situated to the east of Bārakūru and they had their seat of power at Surāla. Yeḷare, over which Toḷaha Śaṅkara-nāyaka is stated to be ruling, may have been the name of their principality.

Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya, while he was governor of Bārakūru-rājya, had to face some serious trouble in the Udipi region. An inscription¹²⁹ from the Kṛishṇa-maṭha at Udipi, dated Śaka 1359, Naḷa, Chaitra śu. 10, Friday = A.D. 1436, March 28, Wednesday (and not Friday) states that in the cyclic year Ānanda (i.e. A.D. 1434-35) Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya, who was then governing Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of Siṅgaṇa-daṇṇāyaka, who was himself administering the whole empire under the orders of Dēvarāya II, invaded and laid waste the village of Śivaḷḷi (i.e. modern Udipi and its surroundings). The reasons for this invasion are not given in the record which further states that the *kaṭṭaleṭṭavarū* (officials), including the *hattukēri* of Bārakūru, were engaged in the task of appeasing and comforting the residents of Śivaḷḷi. During the disturbed conditions, the administration of the Kṛishṇa temple had broken down and even the idol of the god had been displaced. Then follows a number of grants made by one Siṅgarasa to the temple of Kṛishṇa as a result of an appeal carried to the emperor by the *kaṭṭaleṭṭavarū*.

In A.D. 1439,¹³⁰ Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya is stated to be governing the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* under the orders of Lakhaṇṇa-daṇṇāyaka who was administering the whole empire. Likewise, in A.D. 1440¹³¹ Chaṇḍarasa was governing the two *rājyas* under the orders of the same officer. The same inscription informs us that one Rāmarasa was administering,

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 296.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 318.

¹³¹ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 346. The names of the officer and the governor are wrongly given here as Āchaṇṇa-daṇṇāyaka and Aṇṇarasa.

on that date, Kaḍaba-rājya. Kaḍaba-rājya was a subdivison within Maṅgaḷūru-rājya and comprised the region around Kaḍaba, a village about 18 miles to the east of Puttūr.

An inscription¹³² of A.D. 1438 from Kaikiṇi, North Kanara District, records a battle between Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya, who was administering the Haive, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa *rājyas* from his headquarters at Honnāvara, and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bhairava-dēva-Oḍeya, the ruler of Nagire-rājya. The inscription does not give the reason for the governor's invasion of Nagire. Aṇṇappa is, no doubt, identical with his namesake who served as governor of the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* during A.D. 1431-39.

In A.D. 1442-43,¹³³ Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya was governing the Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of the same *Mahāpradhāna* Lakhaṇṇa-daṇṇāyaka.

In April, A.D. 1447,¹³⁴ when Ruppaṇṇa-Oḍeya was governing Bārakūru-rājya, Gururāja-Oḍeya, who was in charge of the imperial treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*) at Vijayanagara, paid a visit to Kōṭēśvara and, in the name of the emperor, made some grant to the deity Kōṭēśvara.

In May, A.D. 1446,¹³⁵ Ācharasa-Oḍeya and in October, A.D. 1447,¹³⁶ Rupaṇṇa-Oḍeya are stated to be governing the Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of Mādaṇa-daṇṇāyaka.

Among the governors of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, Dēvarāja-Oḍeya is stated,¹³⁷ in A.D. 1430, to be governing under the orders of *Mahāpradhāna* Perumāḷadēva-daṇṇāyaka who was administering the whole empire.

An inscription¹³⁸ from Puttūr, Puttur Taluk, belonging to November, A.D. 1431, states that Aṇṇappa, who was govern-

¹³² *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 56. The name of the governor is wrongly read here as (Aṁ)tappa-Oḍeya.

¹³³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 367; *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 588.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 451.

¹³⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 553.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 590.

¹³⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 196; Vol. IX, part II, No. 442.

¹³⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 344.

ing the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya under the orders of *Pradhāna* Hariyappa-danṇāyaka, was the son of Dēvarāja. The latter was, in all probability, identical with Dēvarāja of Nāgamaṅgala who preceded and then succeeded Anṇappa as the governor of the same *rājya*. This inscription says that Puttūr was included in the principality (*sthāna*) of Pāṇḍyapparasa, the Baṅga chieftain. The Baṅgas were a local family of Jaina rulers who held sway over the region around Puttūr with Beḷtaṅgaḍi for their headquarters.

We have seen above that in A.D. 1428, Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya, the then governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, held discussions with his *pradhānis* as also with the local rulers belonging to the Baṅga, Chauṭa and Ajila houses before taking a decision beneficial to the *hañjamānas* subsequent to his actions against them. The earliest epigraphical reference to the Baṅgas occurs in an inscription¹³⁹ from Bappanāḍ near Mulki in Mangalore Taluk. This inscription, which is incomplete, is dated Śaka 1333, Vikṛita, Mithuna, Amāvāsyā, Mṛigaśīrā-nakshatra = A.D. 1410, January 2, Monday, and refers to the Baṅga chieftain Pāṇḍyapparasa and to the governorship over the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya of Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya under the orders of Dēvarāja I.

The next reference to a Baṅga ruler is met with in an inscription¹⁴⁰ from Pāvañje, Mangalore Taluk, dated Śaka 1340, Hēvilāmbi, Vaiśākha śu. 10, Monday = A.D. 1417, April 18, Saturday (and not Monday). This inscription records a grant of land to a *brāhmaṇa* by Viṭhaladēvi, the Baṅga ruler. Like the other local Jaina houses, the Baṅgas followed the matriarchal system (*aḷiya-santāna*) of succession. Viṭhaladēvi, therefore, may have been the sister of Pāṇḍyapparasa and may have succeeded her brother in view of her son's minority.

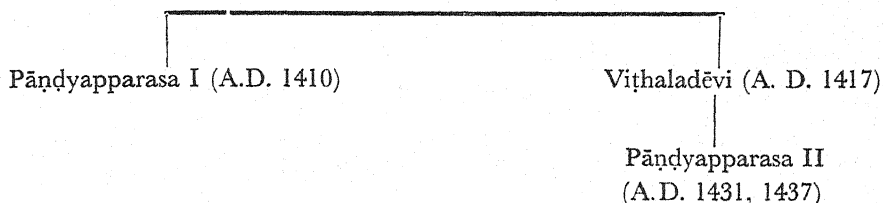
An inscription¹⁴¹ from Paḍuva-Paṇambūru, Mangalore Taluk, dated Śaka 1359, Piṅgaḷa, Vaiśākha śu. 14, Monday =

¹³⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 259.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 261.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 265.

A.D. 1437, April 19, Friday (and not Monday), records a grant to a *brāhmaṇa* by Pāṇḍyapparasa Baṅga, the son (*kumāra*) of Viṭhaladēvi. Undoubtedly this Pāṇḍyapparasa is identical with his namesake mentioned in the Puttūr inscription of A.D. 1431 discussed above. We have thus the names of three Baṅga chieftains who ruled under Dēvarāya I and II:—



The Puttūr inscription of A.D. 1431, also registers a gift of gold by Chauṭa Sānteya. Sānteya was, perhaps, the then ruling member of the Chauṭa family. The Baṅgas and Chauṭas ruled over adjacent principalities and the inclusion of a grant by a Chauṭa in an inscription which is important for the Baṅgas suggests that the latter were, among the two, the greater power. Sānteya was one of the successors of Vikra-Chauṭa whose mention in A.D. 1390 has been noticed above.

An inscription¹⁴² from Eḍemaṅgala, Puttur Taluk, dated Śaka 1354, Paridhāvi, Kārttika śu. 1, Sunday=A.D. 1432, October 25, Saturday (and not Sunday), states that Rāmarasa of Kaḍaba-nāḍu assigned certain incomes from taxes from Eḍemaṅgala for the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* under the orders of Dēvarāja-Oḍeya, the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya. There is no doubt that this Rāmarasa of Kaḍaba-nāḍu is identical with his namesake mentioned as administering the Kaḍaba-rājya in the inscription of A.D. 1440, discussed above. The fact that Rāmarasa was ruling over the Kaḍaba region for at least a decade and, perhaps more, suggests that he was a member of some ruling family of the locality.

¹⁴² *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 349.

An inscription¹⁴³ from Addūru, Mangalore Taluk, dated Śaka 1356, Ānanda, Mēsha 1, Sunday = A.D. 1434, March 27, Saturday (and not Sunday), registers a gift of land by the Chauṭa chief Jōgi-Oḍeya to a *jōgi-purusha* called Jugādikuṇḍala. With this inscription, we come to know of three Chauṭa names which are as follows:

Vikra-Chauṭa (A.D. 1390)

⋮

Sāntheya-Chauṭa (A. D. 1431)

⋮

Jōgi-Oḍeya-Chauṭa (A. D. 1434)

With the end of Dēvarāya II's reign, a period of chaos and confusion set in in the affairs of the empire. Dēvarāya II's elder son Vijayarāya seems to have been associated with the administration of the empire for a brief period during A.D. 1446-47. No inscription referring to the latter has been discovered in South Kanara. From A.D. 1447, Dēvarāya II's younger son Mallikārjuna begins to style himself emperor and receives in his inscriptions all the usual sovereign titles and epithets. Mallikārjuna's earliest inscription¹⁴⁴ in South Kanara is from Baindūru in Coondapur Taluk and is dated Śaka 1371, Śukla, Chaitra śu. 10, Thursday = A.D. 1449, April 2, Wednesday (and not Thursday). He ended his reign in A.D. 1465 and his latest inscription¹⁴⁵ in South Kanara, from Poḷali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk, is dated Śaka 1387, Pārthiva, Śimha 15, Wednesday = A.D. 1465, August 13, Tuesday (and not Wednesday). A few inscriptions falling within these two dates refer themselves to the reign of Immaḍi-Dēvarāya. These must be assigned to the reign of Mallikārjuna himself who had the second name of Dēvarāya as

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 476.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 536.

¹⁴⁵ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 460.

is revealed by an inscription¹⁴⁶ from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1465, where the king is named Praudha-Immaḍi-Dēvarāya-Mallikārjuna.

Mallikārjuna was ousted from the throne in A.D. 1465 by Virūpāksha II, son of Dēvarāya II's brother. Mallikārjuna was a weak emperor but Virūpāksha, the usurper, was weaker and, in addition, given to vice and pleasures. During his reign the empire faced the very danger of extinction and it was saved from this tragedy when Virūpāksha was set aside and the throne was occupied by Sāḷuva Narasiṃha. The earliest inscription¹⁴⁷ of Virūpāksha II in South Kanara is from Bārakūru and is dated Śaka 1387, Vyaya, Chaitra śu. 12, Friday = A.D. 1466, March 28. The Sāḷuva usurpation took place in A.D. 1486. But Sāḷuva Narasiṃha did not do away with Virūpāksha, obviously for political reasons. The latter lingered on for almost a decade after his disgrace as is shown by his inscription¹⁴⁸ from Hosāḷa, Udipi Taluk, which is dated Śaka 1416 (expired), 1417 (current), Ānanda, Kārttika śu. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1494, October 30, Thursday (and not Sunday).

Another inscription¹⁴⁹ from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, referring itself to the reign of a ruler belonging to the First or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara is dated Śaka 1408 (expired), 1409 (current), Plavaṅga, Kārttika śu. 5, Sunday = A.D. 1487, October 21. It refers itself to the reign of Pratāparāya, son of Virūpāksha, thus highlighting the confusion which prevailed in those days.

The names and dates of the governors who served in the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* during the reigns of Mallikārjuna, Virūpāksha and Pratāparāya are as follows:—

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 459. Cf. *Ibid.*, No. 460, also of A.D. 1465, wherein his name is given as Praudha Mallikārjuna Dēvarāya.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 320.

¹⁴⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 278.

¹⁴⁹ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 473.

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Dēvappa-Oḍeya	April 2, A.D. 1449 ¹⁵⁰	...
Līṅgappa-Oḍeya	April 24, A.D. 1450 ¹⁵¹	...
Bhānappa-Oḍeya	October 30, A.D. 1451 ¹⁵²	December 24, A.D. 1451 ¹⁵³
Dēvaṇṇa-Oḍeya	January 9, A.D. 1454 ¹⁵⁴	
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	January 23,	October 12,
Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya	A. D. 1455 ¹⁵⁵	A. D. 1455 ¹⁵⁶
Bhānappa-Oḍeya	January 30, A.D. 1457 ¹⁵⁷	...
Guruvappa-Oḍeya	September 8, A. D. 1458 ¹⁵⁸	December 3, A. D. 1458 ¹⁵⁹
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	October 4,	...
Dēvappa-daṇṇāyaka	A. D. 1461 ¹⁶⁰	
Śaṅkaradēva Oḍeya	November 5, A.D. 1461 ¹⁶¹	...
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i>	June 12,	October 16,
Lakkaṇṇa-Oḍeya	A. D. 1463 ¹⁶²	A. D. 1463 ¹⁶³
Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya	February 16, A. D. 1465 ¹⁶⁴	May 15, A. D. 1465 ¹⁶⁵
Siṅgarasa-Oḍeya	March 28, A.D. 1466 ¹⁶⁶	...

¹⁵⁰ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 536, wherein the governor's name has not been given.

¹⁵¹ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 452.

¹⁵² *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 551.

¹⁵³ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 456.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 368.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 457.

¹⁵⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 589.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1930-31, No. 358.

¹⁵⁸ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 315.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 336.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 338.

¹⁶¹ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 549.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 504.

¹⁶³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 361.

¹⁶⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 495.

¹⁶⁵ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 459.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 320.

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Vitharasa-Oḍeya	August 15, A.D. 1467 ¹⁶⁷	...
Koṇḍerāja-Oḍeya	November 28, A. D. 1467 ¹⁶⁸	...
<i>Mahāpradhāna</i> Vitharasa-Oḍeya	March 27, A. D. 1469 ¹⁶⁹	September 20, A. D. 1478 ¹⁷⁰
Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya	February 3, A.D. 1482 ¹⁷¹	...
Virūpākshadēva-Oḍeya	October 28, A. D. 1486 ¹⁷²	October 21, A. D. 1487 ¹⁷³

Maṅgaḷūru-rājya

Gaṇapaṇṇa-Oḍeya	April 8, A. D. 1451 ¹⁷⁴	...
Timmaṇṇa-daṇṇāyaka	January, A.D. 1456 ¹⁷⁵	
Vitharasa-Oḍeya	August 13, A. D. 1465 ¹⁷⁶	January 24, A. D. 1477 ¹⁷⁷

Among the governor's of Bārakūru, Dēvappa-Oḍeya (A.D. 1449) was appointed to the post by Dēvappa-daṇṇāyaka. *Mahāpradhāna* Vallabha-daṇṇāyaka who, in A.D. 1451, appointed Bhānappa-Oḍeya as governor, is stated to be administering the empire. Dēvaṇṇa-Oḍeya owed his appointment to the post in A.D. 1454 to Siṅgappa-daṇṇāyaka who is stated to be the emperor's *Mahāpradhāna*. In A.D. 1455, Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya is stated to have received his appointment from Timmaṇṇa-daṇṇāyaka. Guruvappa-Oḍeya was made governor in A.D.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 461.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 373.

¹⁶⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 514.

¹⁷⁰ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 469.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, No. 470.

¹⁷² *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 250.

¹⁷³ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 473.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 197.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 184.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 460.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 209.

1458 by *Mahāpradhāna* Siddhapa-danṇāyaka who was administering the whole empire (*samastada-pāriṇatyava-māḍe*).¹⁷⁸ Paṇḍaridēva was governing Bārakūra-Tuḷu-rājya in A.D. 1465 under the orders of *Mahāpradhāna* Rāmachandra-danṇāyaka-Oḍeya.

During the seventh and eighth decades of the fifteenth century, Viṭharasa rose to great importance in the Tuḷu country. His earliest mention occurs in A.D. 1465 and we continue to hear of him even in A.D. 1477. For most of the time during these years, he served simultaneously as the governor of both the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷuru rājyas. A study of his inscriptions from the Bārakūru region shows that in A.D. 1467, he was made governor of Bārakūru by *Mahāpradhāna* Kāchappa-danṇāyaka-Oḍeya; in A.D. 1472, he was made governor of Bārakūra-Tuḷu-rājya by *Mahāpradhāna* Siṅgarasa-danṇāyaka-Oḍeya; and in A.D. 1475, he was appointed to the post by Siṅgaṇa-danṇāyaka. The latter appointed, in A.D. 1482, Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

Among the governors of Maṅgaḷuru-rājya, Timmaṇṇa-danṇāyaka owed his appointment to Naraharidēva-danṇāyaka. An inscription¹⁷⁹ of August, A.D. 1465 states that Viṭharasa-Oḍeya was made governor of Maṅgaḷuru-rājya by *Mahāpradhāna* Rāmachandra-danṇāyaka who, wearing the emperor's ring of authority (*Mallikārjuna-mahārāyara mudrey-uṅgurava dharisi*), was administering all the territories of the empire (*samasta-rāṇeyava pārupatyavavanu māḍe*). Another inscription¹⁸⁰ of August, A.D. 1474, states that Viṭharasa was made governor of the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷuru rājyas by Siṅgaṇa-danṇāyaka-Oḍeya. In A.D. 1476, Siṅgaṇa-danṇāyaka is described¹⁸¹ as administering all the imperial territories (*samasta-rāṇeyagaḷannu pratipālisuttiralu*) when he made Viṭharasa governor of both the rājyas. This inscription gives us the interesting fact that Viṭharasa was governing the rājya along with (i.e. with the help

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 315.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 460.

¹⁸⁰ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 528.

¹⁸¹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 194.

of) the *kaṭṭaḷeyavarū*, the Baṅgas and the Chauṭas (*ā Viṭharasa-Oḍeyaru kaṭṭaḷeyavarū Baṅgaru Chauṭaru saḥavāgi rājyavanu āḷuvakāladalli*).

A noteworthy inscription¹⁸² from Nilāvāra, Udipi Taluk, belonging to February, A.D. 1465 states that Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, took stern measures against the subjects of Niruvāra for their refusal to pay taxes. It further records that, on the orders of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāmachandra-daṇṇāyaka, it was stipulated that taxes payable to the imperial treasury should be paid without fail from thence. Among the signatories to the record is mentioned *Pradhāni* Viṭharasa-Oḍeya who was then, probably, governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya. This inscription thus contains the earliest reference to Viṭharasa-Oḍeya.

Another inscription¹⁸³ from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1465 records that the *haṇjamānas* of Basarūru being unable to pay their taxes to the palace in gold, they surrendered their harvest and that the gold earned by the sale of this harvest was gifted to the god Mahādēva of *paḍuvakēri* in Basarūru by Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

An inscription¹⁸⁴ from Bārakūru, belonging to January, A.D. 1469 refers itself to the reign of Rājaśēkhara-mahārāya. Rājaśēkhara was the son of Mallikārjuna and this record, referring to his reign but belonging to a date when Virūpāksha, who had forcibly ousted Rājaśēkhara's father from the throne, was holding the reigns of power, is a source of confusion. The explanation lies, perhaps, in the fact that in those days when feudatory chieftains and generals were the main power behind Vijayanagara, developments in the ruling dynasty itself had come to be ignored. This inscription records a grant to the deity Ādiparamēśvara and contains no reference either to the Bārakūru-rājya or to its governor.

¹⁸² *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 495.

¹⁸³ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 459.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 371.

To the period of Viṭharasa's long tenure as the governor of the two *rājyas* belong a few interesting inscriptions. Thus, an inscription¹⁸⁵ of August, A.D. 1465, from Poḷali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk, informs us that Allappaśēkhara-Chauṭa was (ruling from his headquarters) at Puttige. It records a gift of land by the Chauṭa chieftain, along with his brothers Dēvaruśēkhara, Bhīmaṇṇaśēkhara and Bommaṇṇaśēkhara to Mañjaṇaśēkhara and his sisters for offerings to the goddess Poḷaladēvi. After Jōgi-Oḍeya-Chauṭa, whose mention in A.D. 1434 has been referred to above, Allappaśēkhara's is the first Chauṭa name we come across in inscriptions. He is stated in the record as belonging to the Puttige lineage (*janana*) implying thereby that more than one Chauṭa family were exercising power in South Kanara.

An inscription¹⁸⁶ from Ujre, Puttur Taluk, belonging to July, A.D. 1469, which is in the form of an order given by Kāmirāya-arasa and Dēvaṇṇa-Koṭhāri to the residents of Ujiri, states that Viṭharasa-Oḍeya had attacked and burnt down the palace at Koḍeyāla and also the village of Nīrumārga. Without narrating the developments which immediately followed this action, the record states that the village of Ujiri was granted to the aggrieved parties as a tax-free compensation. Then follows an order by Kāmirāya-arasa and Dēvaṇṇa-Koṭhāri to the residents of the village that the latter should in future remit their taxes to the former.

We learn from an inscription¹⁸⁷ from Indabeṭṭu, Puttur Taluk, belonging to A.D. 1473, that Kāmirāya-arasa was the ruler of the Baṅga principality. Dēvaṇṇa-Koṭhāri was probably an official serving under the Baṅga chieftain. The circumstances which led to Viṭharasa's aggressive action against the Baṅgas, who were otherwise left to themselves by imperial authorities, are not known. But Viṭharasa's action appears to have received

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 460.

¹⁸⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 482.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 478.

the sanction of his superiors, for, unlike Mahābalaḍēva and Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya who were promptly relieved of their governorship after similar events, Viṭharasa continued to administer the whole of the Tuḷu country for years after A.D. 1469.

Kāmirāya-Baṅga appears to have succeeded Basavaṇṇarasa-Baṅga who figures in an inscription¹⁸⁸ of October, A.D. 1456, from Peraḍūru in the Udipi Taluk. This inscription records a gift of land by the Baṅga chieftain to the god Janārdanaḍēva at Peraḍūru. Basavaṇṇarasa may have been the direct successor of Paṇḍyapparasa II whose known dates, as shown earlier, fall in A. D. 1431 and 1437.

An inscription¹⁸⁹ from Chokkāḍi, Udipi Taluk, belonging to March, A.D. 1474, records that, during Viṭharasa's governorship over the Bārakūru-rājya, a dispute having arisen over certain lands in Vodevūru between the *Seṭṭikāras* of the *hattukēri* of Bārakūru and the *nakhara-haṇḍamānas* on the one side and the Niḍumbūras, Mūḍilas and the six Ballāḷus on the other, it was settled in favour of the former. The Niḍumbūras, Mūḍilas and Ballāḷus make their appearance during this period in a number of inscriptions from South Kanara and appear to have been locally influential families of landlords.

An inscription¹⁹⁰ from Udipi, belonging to January, A.D. 1476, records a political agreement entered into by three private parties when Viṭharasa was governor of Bārakūru-rājya. From this record we gather that Dēvarāḍi-Kunda-heggaḍe, Duggaṇa-śēbita-Madda-heggaḍe and Kinnika-Heggaḍe were ranged against one another, in a serious dispute. These *heggaḍes* were probably holding tiny principalities and their mutual differences often resulted in armed conflicts. The record says that these three rivals met and agreed that they should thenceforward put an end to further incursions into each other's territory. The record stipulates that none of the three should be attacked by the other either alone or in conjunction with the third.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 502.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, Nos. 579-80.

¹⁹⁰ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 304.

The absence of any reference to imperial authority in a number of inscriptions which fall into the period of Mallikārjuna's and Virūpāksha's reigns bears ample testimony to the weakening of the central power at Vijayanagara. While a few of these merely record grants by private individuals and hence are not of any significance to the political history of the region and the period in question, some of them belong to local ruling houses and, therefore, are of importance.

The earliest¹⁹¹ of these inscriptions is from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, and is dated Śaka 1371, Chaitra śu. 10, Thursday = A.D. 1449, April 2, Wednesday (and not Thursday). It records a gift of land for offerings and worship in the Pārśva-nātha-basti by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Indagarasa-Oḍeya, son of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya and ruler of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya. The principality of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya comprised western portions of the southern extremes of the North Kanara District and also western portions of the northern extremes of the South Kanara District. It had for its headquarters the modern village of Hāḍuvaḷḷi, also appearing in inscriptions in its Sanskritised form of Saṅgītapura (Kannaḍa *hāḍu* = Sanskrit *saṅgīta*, song), situated in the Bhatkal Taluk of North Kanara District. This principality was, during the period in question, under the rule of a family of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* who considered their subordination to Vijayanagara authority as a matter of mere convenience.

The earliest dated reference to this family occurs in an inscription¹⁹² from Bhatkal, which is dated Śaka 1332 (wrong for 1330), Sarvadhāri, Kārtika śu. 10, Monday = A.D. 1408, October 29. This inscription records provisions made for the *samudāya* of the whole town, in memory of his deceased brother Mallirāya, by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Hāḍuvaḷḷipuravarādhīśvara* Saṅgirāya, the son of Haivarasa. The origin of this family and the extension of Vijayanagara authority over this region were, perhaps, coeval.

¹⁹¹ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 537.

¹⁹² *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 38.

Another inscription¹⁹³, also from Bhaṭkaḷ and belonging to October, A.D. 1408, informs us that Saṅgirāya was born of Haiva-bhūpa and his queen Bhairādēvī. The inscription eulogises Bhairādēvī in glowing terms and then refers to her death.

An inscription¹⁹⁴ from Kaikiṇi, Bhatkal Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1415, records the death of Mābu-nāyaka, a soldier of Saṅgirāya, in a battle which resulted from an invasion of Hāḍuvaḷḷi by *Mahāpradhāna* Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya, who was at that time governor of Bārakūru-rājya, and his Tuḷu army. The inscription itself states that the invasion was necessitated by political developments. In this record Saṅgirāya's father is referred to as Nagireya-Haivarasa i.e. Haivarasa of Nagire.

The principality of Nagire-rājya was adjacent to that of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya and comprised eastern portions of the southern extremes of North Kanara District and eastern portions of the northern extremes of South Kanara District and had the modern town of Gersoppa, also referred to as Kshēmapura in inscriptions, in the Gersoppa Taluk of North Kanara District, as its capital. The history of these two principalities overlap at many points and the names of contemporary rulers of these *rājyas* are, more often than not, identical resulting in some confusion. Being Jaina families, the Hāḍuvaḷḷi and Nagire houses followed the *aḷiya-santāna* system of succession. In the above case, therefore, we may venture to suggest that Bhairādēvī, having been the eldest sister of the then ruler of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya, her son, born out of her marriage to Haivarasa, the ruler of Nagire, succeeded to the throne of his uncle. Similarly, Indagarasa, who is referred to as the son of Saṅgirāya, must have been the latter's nephew. That the ruler called his heir-apparent, even though he may be only his nephew (*aḷiya*), as his son is borne out by the fact that among the chieftains of Nagire, Kēśavadēva-Oḍeya called himself the grandson (*mommaga*) of Haivarasa¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, No. 39.

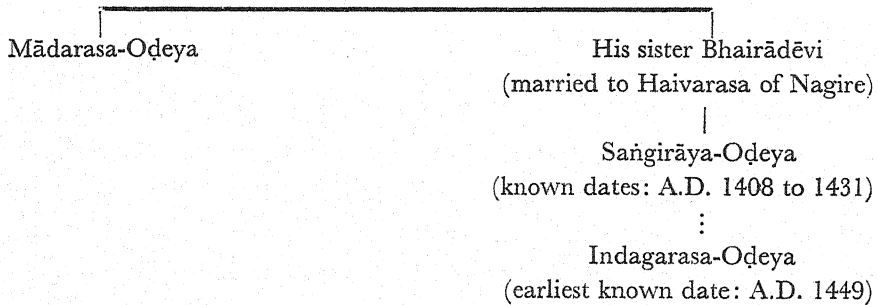
¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 40.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 42.

while he is stated, in an inscription¹⁹⁶ from Mūḍabidure, to have been the nephew (*aḷiya*) of Haivarasa's nephew.

If this is accepted, the indentity of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya's predecessor on the throne of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya can be fixed with the help of an inscription¹⁹⁷ from Hāḍuvaḷḷi itself, belonging to August, A.D. 1423, wherein Saṅgirāya is stated to be the *kumāra* of Mādarasa-Oḍeya. The latter was, in all probability, the brother of Bhairādēvi and uncle and predecessor of Saṅgirāya. The latest available date for Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya is to be found in an inscription from Kaikiṇi, Bhatkal Taluk, which is dated Śaka 1353, Virōdhikṛit, Chaitra śu. 5, Wednesday = A.D. 1431, March 18, Sunday (and not Wednesday).

The earliest available date for Saṅgirāya's successor Indagarasa-Oḍeya is found in the Baindūru inscription of A.D. 1449, discussed above. As will be seen below, Indagarasa appears to have had an exceptionally long reign of over six decades. The genealogy of the Hāḍuvaḷḷi family upto Indagarasa is given below:—



Another inscription¹⁹⁸ which ignores any reference to Vijayanagara authority and which is only slightly later in date than the Baindūru inscription of Indagarasa, is from Kera-vase, Karkala Taluk. This record is dated Śaka 1371, Śukla, Kārttika śu. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1449, October 17, Friday (and

¹⁹⁶ *SHI.*, Vol. VII, No. 202.

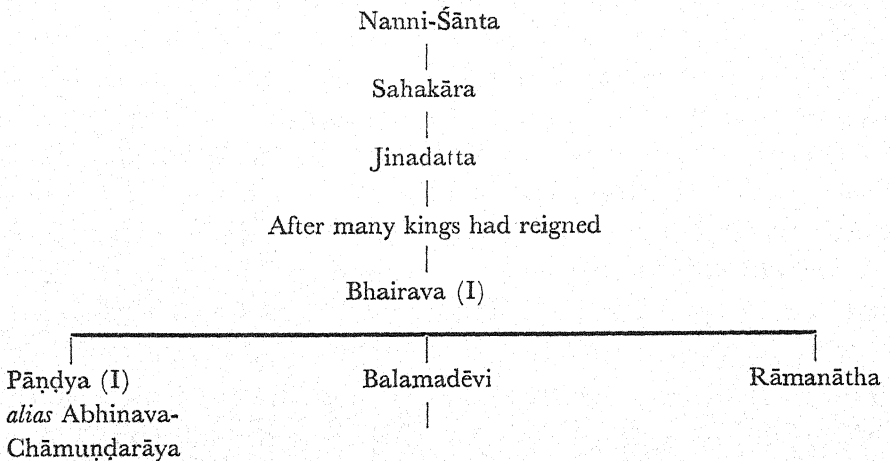
¹⁹⁷ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 46.

¹⁹⁸ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. B, No. 629.

not Sunday). It refers itself to the reign, over Keravase and Kārakaḷa, of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēvarasa-Oḍeya, who receives epithets such as *Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapuravarēśvarādhiśvara*, *Padmāvatī-labdha-vara-prasāda*, *bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* etc. Of these epithets, the first two are typical of the Śāntaras, to whose sway over the Pombuchcha region frequent references have been made above. The connection between the Śāntaras and the family of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēvarasa, suggested by these epithets, is further confirmed by an inscription¹⁹⁹ of April, A.D. 1523, from Varāṅga, Karkala Taluk, which, while giving a genealogical account of this family, claims Nanni-Śānta to have been its progenitor.

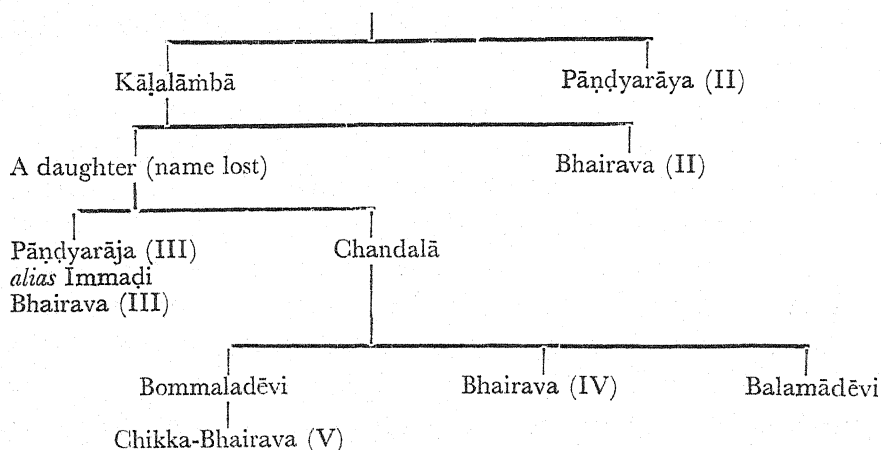
Lewis Rice, who gives the name of 'Kalasa-Kārakaḷa' to this family, observes:²⁰⁰ "The Kalasa-Kārakaḷa kingdom was an extension below the Ghats into South Kanara of the original Śāntara kingdom of Pombuchcha. Kalasa is above the Ghats, in Mysore, and Kārakaḷa below the Ghats, in South Kanara, in about the same latitude."

For the sake of convenience in narrating the history of this family, the genealogical account as given in the Varāṅga inscription is furnished here under:



¹⁹⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 529.

²⁰⁰ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Introduction, p. 19.



A few inscriptions, belonging to the last six decades of the 13th century and referring themselves to the reigns of the rulers of the Kaṣasa kingdom have been found in the Chikmagalur District, Mysore State.²⁰¹ However, these rulers do not appear to have had any hold on Kārkaṣa. Also, from the fact that the Varāṅga inscription, after mentioning three of the earliest members of this family, directly passes on to Bhairava I, it may be concluded that he was the first ruler of Kaṣasa to establish his family's seat of power at Kārkaṣa. The Varāṅga inscription informs us that Bhairava I built the Nēmiśvara-chaitya at Kārkaṣa.

The earliest dated inscription²⁰² of the Kaṣasa-Kārkaṣa family is to be found in a rice-field at Marṇe, near the hamlet of Koraga, Karkala Taluk. It is dated Śaka 1331, Sarvadhāri, Pushya śu. 10, Thursday=A.D. 1408, December 28, Friday (and not Thursday). It refers itself to the joint reign of Vira-Bhairava and his son Pāṇḍya. These two may be easily identified with Bhairava I and his successor Pāṇḍya I *alias* Abhinava-Chāmuṇḍarāya. This identification is rendered possible by the fact that the installation of the Gummaṭa image at Kārkaṣa, which is attributed in the Varāṅga inscription to Pāṇḍya I, took place, as will be shown below, in A.D. 1432. The inscription

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Mg. 65-75; cm. 35-36, 106.

²⁰² *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 530.

states that the two chieftains were ruling from the great capital city (*mahārājadhāni*) of Keravase. Keravase is a village in Karkala Taluk. It is obvious from this that Bhairava I had extended his sway into the Kārkaḷa region sometime in the beginning of the 15th century. The assertion made elsewhere²⁰³ that this family established its sway over the Kārkaḷa region only in A.D. 1516-17 is, therefore, wrong.

An inscription²⁰⁴ from Kaḷasa, Mudgere Taluk, Chikmagalur District, dated Śaka 1341 Vikāri, Āsvayuja ba. 1, Thursday=A.D. 1419, October 5, refers to Bhairava I as Bhairarasa-Oḍeya of Kārkaḷa and as the feudatory of Dēvarāya I. One Biraṇṇa-adhikāri is mentioned as an officer of his house-hold.

The earliest reference, apart from the Kārkaḷa inscription of A.D. 1408, to Bhairava I's successor Pāṇḍya I *alias* Abhinava-Chāmuṇḍarāya, occurs in an inscription²⁰⁵ on the right side of the Gummaṭa statue at Kārkaḷa. Dated Śaka 1353, Virōdhikṛit, Phālguna śu. 12, Monday=A.D. 1432, February 13, Wednesday (and not Monday), it records that Vīra-Pāṇḍya, son of Bhairava and belonging to the lunar race (*Sōm-ānvaya*), caused to be made the image of Bāhubalin (i.e. the Gummaṭa colossus at Kārkaḷa) on the advice of his preceptor, Lalitakīrtti.

Another inscription²⁰⁶, on a pillar in front of the Gummaṭa statue, dated Śaka 1358, Rākshasa, Phālguna śu. 12 probably=A.D. 1436, February 29, Wednesday, records that the pillar with the image of Brahman was set up by Vīra-Pāṇḍya, son of Bhairava of the family of Jinadatta. It is obvious that Pāṇḍya I, the maker of the Jaina colossus at Kārkaḷa, assumed the second name of Abhinava-Chāmuṇḍarāya after the Gaṅga minister Chāmuṇḍarāya who, in the tenth century, caused to be made the famous Gummaṭa statue at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa in the Hassan District of Mysore State.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 127, Note 1.

²⁰⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 47.

²⁰⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 109-10.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

²⁰⁷ *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

While these two Kārkaḷa inscriptions do not mention any suzerain, an inscription²⁰⁸ of Pāṇḍya I, from Kaḷasa, dated Śaka 1362, Raudri, Vaiśākha = A.D. 1440, April-May, which gives his name as Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva and refers to his rule over Kaḷasa-rājya, shows that he was the feudatory of Vijayanagara Dēvarāya II. In the light of the above dates the Keravase inscription of A.D. 1449, discussed above, is to be assigned to the reign of Pāṇḍya I.

An inscription²⁰⁹ from Kārkaḷa, dated Śaka 1379, Īśvara, Kārttika śu. 1, Wednesday = A.D. 1557, October 19, refers itself to the reign of *Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapuravar-ādhiśvara* Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḍeya. In view of the prefix *Abhinava* and, also, in view of the fact that the reigns of four chieftains of the family have to be accommodated within the eighty and odd years between A.D. 1440, the date of the Kaḷasa inscription of Pāṇḍya I and A.D. 1523, the date of the Varāṅga inscription of Chikka-Bhairava V, Pāṇḍya of the Kārkaḷa inscription of A.D. 1457 may be identified with Pāṇḍya II, the nephew and successor of Pāṇḍya I. The Varāṅga inscription records that Pāṇḍya II caused to be erected a sky-high *māna-stambha* in front of the Nēmīśvarabasti at Kārkaḷa.

We may here refer to an inscription²¹⁰ from Keravase which is wrongly dated Śaka 1083, Vishu, Āśvayuja śu. 1, Thursday. Palaeographically, the record belongs to the 15th century. If the intended Śaka year was 1383, the given details would work out to A.D. 1461, September 5, Saturday (and not Thursday). The inscription is an interesting document, recording an agreement of peace between Kāmīrāya-arasa, the Baṅga chieftain, and Pāṇḍyadēvarasa *alias* Pāṇḍyapparasa, ruling from Keravase. The above dating of the record is further supported by an inscription²¹¹ from Indabeṭṭu which refers to Kāmīrāya-arasa in A.D. 1473. The Keravase inscription records that Pāṇḍya-

²⁰⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 47.

²⁰⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 246.

²¹⁰ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. B, No. 627.

²¹¹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 478

dēvarasa and Kāmirāya-arasa agreed to suspend thenceforward all acts of hostility against each other; that when one was to be attacked by an outsider, the other will rush to the help of the defender; and that none of the two shall unilaterally enter into any pact with the Chauṭas. Since this record is not far removed in date from the Kārkaḷa inscription of A.D. 1457, discussed above, Pāṇḍyadēvarasa of Keravase may be identified with Pāṇḍya II.

No inscription assignable to the reign of Pāṇḍya II's successor Bhairava II has come down to us. The Varāṅga inscription eulogises Bhairava II as interested in music (*saṅgīta*) and literature (*sāhitya*). His successor was Pāṇḍyarāya III. An inscription²¹² from Bantakallu, Udipi Taluk, which is dated only in the cyclic year Śōbhakṛit and which, palaeographically, belongs to the 15th century may be referred to A.D. 1483-84. It records an agreement entered into between Kunda-heggaḍe and Kinnika-heggaḍe on the one side and Pāṇḍyappoḍeya on the other. We have shown above that Bhairava IV was on the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa throne in A.D. 1493. Pāṇḍyappoḍeya of the Bantakallu record of A.D. 1483 may, therefore, be identified with Pāṇḍyarāja III, the uncle and predecessor of Bhairava IV.

The next dated reference for a ruler of this family occurs in two inscriptions²¹³ from Kaḷasa which are dated Śaka 1414, Paridhāvi, Māgha śu. 10, Sunday = A.D. 1493, January 27. These records refer themselves to the rule of Vīra-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya over Kaḷasa-rājya during the reign of Sāluva Immaḍi-Narasimha. This Bhairarasa-Oḍeya may be identified with Bhairava IV of the genealogical tree on the strength of another inscription²¹⁴ from Kaḷasa itself which is dated Śaka 1438, Dhātu, Śrāvaṇa śu. 15, Sunday = A.D. 1516, July 13 and which says that Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya, the then ruling chief of Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya, was the nephew of Hiriya-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya and son of Boṁmaladēvi.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 1930-31, No. 370.

²¹³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 50 and 54.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Mg. 41.

While the earliest available date for Bhairava IV falls in A.D. 1493, the latest date for him is to be found in an inscription²¹⁵ from Kaḷasa, dated Śaka 1429, Durmati, Bhādrapada ba. 10, Tuesday=A.D. 1501, September 7. This record mentions one Balamādēvi as the younger sister (*iaṅgi*) of the ruler. Bommaladēvi, of whom his successor Bhairava V was born according to the Varāṅga inscriptions was, obviously, Bhairava IV's elder sister.

The further history of this family including the reign of Bhairava V will be discussed as and when their inscriptions make their appearance.

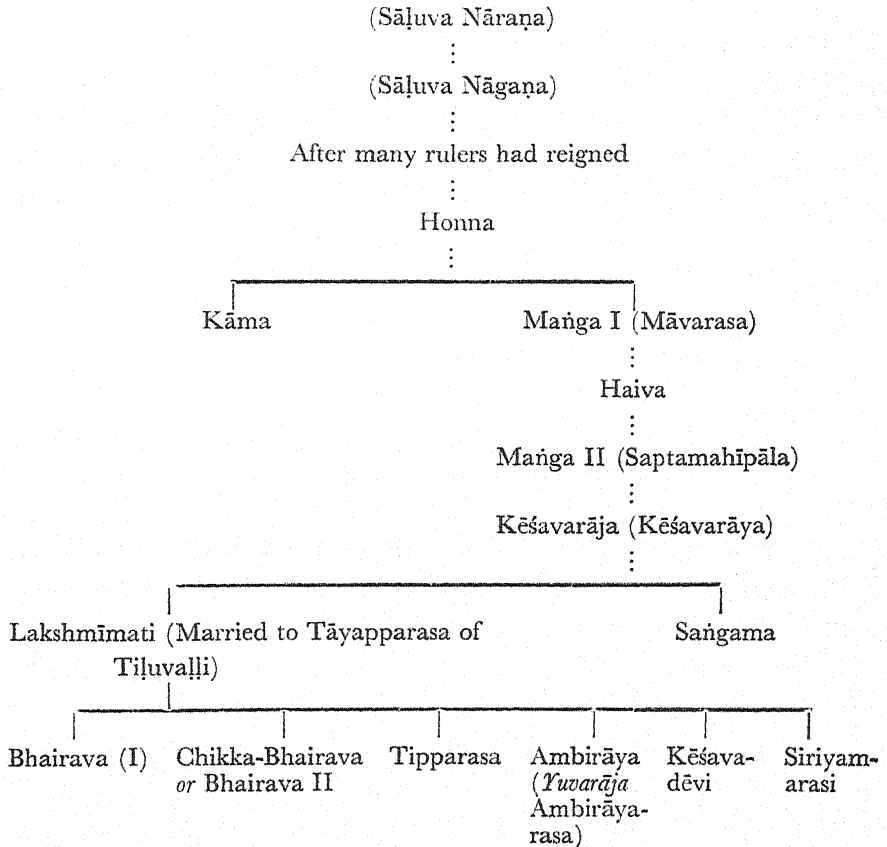
Next in date among inscriptions of local rulers which make no reference to Vijayanagara authority is a record²¹⁶ from Mūḍabidure dated Śaka 1384, Vishu, Pushya śu. 1, Wednesday, Mūla-nakshatra=A.D. 1461, December 2 (the *tithi*, however, was Mārgaśīrsha ba. 15 and not Pushya śu. 1). It refers itself to the reign of Hiriya-Bhairavadēva-Oḍeya of Nagire and records grants by the king, who had fallen seriously ill, for the worship of the deities Chandranātha, Supārśva-tīrthaṅkara and Chandraprabha-tīrthaṅkara with the permission of his brothers Bhairarasa and Āmbirāyarasa. We have shown above that the principality of Nagire consisted of portions of the North and South Kanara Districts and that it was considered to be a part of Tuḷu-rājya. The presence at Mūḍabidure of inscriptions of the Nagire family does not mean that they ruled over that region which was far to the south of their own territory. Mūḍabidure, being a great centre of Jainism, must have been a sacred place of pilgrimage for the Nagire rulers who themselves professed that religion.

For the religious and cultural history of South Kanara, the Nagire rulers are as important as the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa rulers. Two other inscriptions from Mūḍabidure, one dated Śaka 1351, Saumya, Māgha śu. 5, Thursday=A.D. 1430, January 29, Sunday (and not Thursday) and the other undated, furnish a

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Mg. 48.

²¹⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 203.

detailed genealogical account of the Nagire family.²¹⁷ The genealogy as given in these records, of which the former refers itself to the reign of Dēvarāya II and the latter²¹⁸ makes no reference to Vijayanagara authority, is given hereunder. The names given within the brackets are those found in the undated inscription:—



Among the children of Lakshmīmāti, the undated inscription mentions only Bhairava I and Ambirāyarasa, the former as Saṅgama's successor and the latter as *Yuvarāja* under Bhairava I. It then says that in that family was born Sāḷuva-Malla. The nature of Sāḷuva Malla's relationship to Bhairava and Ambirāyarasa is not revealed in this record.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 202.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 207.

It is obvious from the above succession table that the Nagire family claimed to be of Sāḷuva extraction. It is well known that for a short period, between A.D. 1486 and 1506, the Sāḷuvas came to occupy the imperial throne at Vijayanagara. It is not, however, possible to say, at the present state of our knowledge, if the imperial Sāḷuva family was in any way related to the Sāḷuva house of Nagire..

No inscriptions referring to the reign of Sāḷuva Nāraṇa, Sāḷuva Nagaṇa, Kāma and Maṅga I have come down to us. As for Maṅga I's successor Haiva, he is the same as the father of Saṅgirāya or Saṅgama who, by virtue of the *aliya-santāna* system of succession in vogue in the Nagire and Hāḍuvallī ruling houses, succeeded to the Hāḍuvallī throne. The Kaikiṇi inscription of A.D. 1415, which contains this information regarding Haiva and Saṅgirāya, has been discussed above.

The earliest dated reference to Haiva is met with in two inscriptions²¹⁹ from Kaikiṇi, both of them dated in the cyclic year Bahudhānya (=Śaka 1320), Pushya śu. 1, Thursday = A.D. 1398, December 10, Tuesday (and not Thursday) and both of them referring themselves to the reign of Harihara II. We have already pointed out above that these inscriptions record an invasion of the Tuḷu country by the imperial general Maṅgapadaṇṇāyaka, aided by the forces of Haivarasa of Nagire.

The nephew of Haivarasa, whose name was Maṅga (II) *alias* Saptamahipāla, has not left behind any inscriptions. There are reasons to conclude from available inscriptions that he may not have ruled. For, as early as in A.D. 1422, we hear of Kēśava-dēva-Oḍeya, who calls himself the grandson of Haivarasa but who in reality was the nephew of Maṅgarasa who was himself the nephew of Haivarasa, marching his forces against Saṅgirāya of Hāḍuvallī.²²⁰ This, coupled with the facts that this record makes no mention of Kēśavadēva-Oḍeya's uncle Maṅgarasa II and that Saṅgirāya's name alone is associated with both Hāḍuvallī and Nagire till A.D. 1422, leads to the conclusion that, when

²¹⁹ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 35 and 36.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 44.

Haivarasa ended his reign over Nagire-rājya, he was succeeded by Saṅgirāya who, by virtue of the *aḷiya-santāna* system of succession, had also become ruler of Hāḍuvallī-rājya. The circumstances which brought about the succession of Saṅgirāya to his father Haivarasa on the Nagire throne, thus creating a breach with the prevalent *aḷiya-santāna* system, are not known to us. It may be that Haivarasa's *aḷiya* Maṅga II had predeceased him and that the latter's nephew, Kēśavadēva, at the time when Haivarasa had ended his reign, was only a minor thus enabling Saṅgirāya to sit on the throne at Nagire.

At any rate, Kēśavadēva appears to have asserted his claims by A.D. 1422. He got hold of the Nagire throne, which was his due, and this started a period of incessant struggle between the rulers of the Hāḍuvallī and Nagire rājyas. Three inscriptions from Kaikiṇi and one from Hāḍuvallī, belonging to A.D. 1422-23,²²¹ refer to the invasions of the Hāḍuvallī-rājya of Saṅgirāya by Kēśavadēva-Oḍeya of Nagire. On the other hand, an inscription²²² of A.D. 1417 from Kaikiṇi itself refers to Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya as the ruler of Nagire. It is thus clear that Kēśavadēva was preceded on the Nagire throne, not by his uncle Maṅga I as required by the *aḷiya-santāna* system, but by Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya. Kēśavadēva was succeeded by his nephew Saṅgama who is mentioned, as early as in A.D. 1423, in an inscription²²³ from Hāḍuvallī, as *aḷiya* Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya and as having jointly led an invasion into Hāḍuvallī-rājya along with his uncle Kēśavadēva. We have no dated references to the reign of Kēśavadēva after A.D. 1425.²²⁴ The earliest date for his nephew and successor, Saṅgama or Saṅgirāya, is found in an interesting inscription²²⁵ from Kaikiṇi, dated Śaka 1349, Plavaṅga, Vaiśākha śu. 5, Thursday = A.D. 1427, May 1. This inscription refers itself to the reign of Dēvarāya I and states that *Mahāpradhāna*

²²¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 42, 44, 45 and 46.

²²² *Ibid.*, No. 41.

²²³ *Ibid.*, No. 46.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 47.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 48.

Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya was governing, from his headquarters at Honnāvara, the Haive, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa *rājyas*. It is then stated that a serious breach having occurred between the governor and one Ummara-marakāla, who was the chief of the *hañjamāna* of Honnāvara, the latter, along with his supporters, retired to Kāsarakōḍu (a village in the North Kanara District) and appealed to *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya, the chief of Nagire, to use his good offices and bring about the cessation of hostilities against him by Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya. On receiving this appeal, Saṅgirāya despatched one Kōṭīśvara-nāyaka, along with a thousand soldiers, to offer protection to Ummara-marakāla and his followers. The inscription tells us that, at this stage, Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya treacherously (*mōsadim*) laid siege to Kāsarakōḍu and started harassing the womenfolk of Ummara-marakāla's camp. Rising to the occasion, Kōṭīśvara-nāyaka transported all the members of the *hañjamāna*, including Ummara-marakāla and the women-folk, with the help of boats to a place of safety. In the battle which ensued on this account with the forces of Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya, Kōṭīśvara-nāyaka fought valiantly but was killed. From the above, it may be concluded that the Nagire chiefs were powerful enough to question the acts of imperial officers.

The next available record of Saṅgirāya of Nagire is equally important. This inscription,²²⁶ also from Kaikiṇi, is dated Śaka 1353, Virōdhikṛit, Chaitra śu. 5, Wednesday. These details of date are irregular. But, for Śaka 1352, Sādhāraṇa, the given details regularly correspond to A.D. 1430, March 29. After referring to the reign of Dēvarāya II and to the administration of *Mahāpradhāna* Lakhaṇṇa-Oḍeya over Honnāvara-rājya, the inscription states that Bhairavadēva-Oḍeya of Asakaḷi deserted the camp of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya of Nagire and shifted his allegiance to Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya of Hāḍuvallī. The inscription then records the death of a hero in the battle which ensued between Saṅgirāya of Nagire on one side and Saṅgirāya of Hāḍuvallī and his ally Bhairavadēva-Oḍeya of

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 50.

Asakaḷi on the other. For reasons not stated in the record, Saṅgirāya of Nagire and Lakhaṇṇa-Oḍeya, the imperial governor, now joined hands and invaded Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya. The death of another hero in the battle which resulted is also recorded in the inscription.

While the Kaikiṇi inscription of March, A.D. 1430, discussed above, provides us with the latest known date for Saṅgirāya of Nagire, the earliest date for his nephew and successor, Bhairava-dēva-Oḍeya (*i.e.* Bhairava I) is met with in the Mūḍabidure inscription of January, A.D. 1430, which, as has been shown above, contains a genealogical account of his family. The dates of these two inscriptions suggest that Bhairava I was actively associated with the administration of the Nagire territory even during his uncle's lifetime.

The Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1461, discussed earlier, belongs to the last days of Bhairava I's rule. This inscription refers to the serious nature of the ruler's illness and records some grants made by him with the consent of his brothers Bhairarasa and Ambirāyarasa.

An inscription²²⁷ from Kaikiṇi, belonging to the reign of Virūpāksha and dated in Śaka 1384, Tāraṇa (wrong for Chitra-bhānu) = A.D. 1462-63, refers to the rule over Nagire-rājya of Immaḍi-Bhairavēśvara. This Immaḍi-Bhairavēśvara was the successor of Bhairava I and is no doubt identical with the Chikka-Bhairava of the Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1430 and the Bhairarasa of the Mūḍabidure record of A.D. 1461. Here we have an interesting instance of a younger nephew succeeding to the throne on the death of the elder nephew of an uncle. The undated Mūḍabidure inscription, referred to above, states that Bhairava II appointed his younger brother Ambirāyarasa as *Yuvarāja*.

The person who actually succeeded Immaḍi-Bhairava on the Nagire throne was Mallirāya-Oḍeya. This may be understood from the undated Mūḍabidure inscription of Mallirāya

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 60.

himself which refers to Ambirāya as *Yuvarāja*. The relationship of Mallirāya to Bhairava II is not clear. The undated Mūḍa-bidure inscription merely states that Mallirāya hailed from the same family of Bhairava II and his brother *Yuvarāja* Ambirāya.

The earliest dated reference to Mallirāya occurs in his inscription²²⁸ from Kaikiṇi dated Śaka 1394, Khara, Āśvayuja śu. 5, Friday=A.D. 1471, September 19, Thursday (and not Friday). This inscription refers to him as the younger brother (*tammandiru*) of Bhairavadēva-Oḍeya. The latter is, no doubt, the same as Bhairava II. Mallirāya may, therefore, have been another name for Tipparasa who, according to the Mūḍabidure record of A.D. 1340, was the younger brother of Bhairava II and elder brother of Ambirāya.

The inscription records that Bhairava II and his brother Mallirāya fell out with each other and their enmity became aggravated beyond all compromise. Yindaradēva the ruler of Hāḍuvallī, whose mention in the Baindūru inscription of A.D. 1449 as Indagarasa-Oḍeya has been referred to above, appears to have supported Bhairava II thus inviting upon himself an invasion by the forces of Mallirāya. The inscription records the death of a soldier of Mallirāya in the battle which ensued. From this it may be concluded that Mallirāya won the battle. He also must have secured the Nagire throne as we do not hear any more of Bhairava II. The undated Mūḍabidure inscription showers lofty praise upon Mallirāya and hails him as a great warrior and as a great follower of Jainism. His inscriptions show that he acknowledged the suzerainty of Virūpāksha. He was perhaps assisted by the imperial authority in wresting the throne from his elder brother Bhairava II.

Another inscription²²⁹ from Kaikiṇi, belonging to the reign of Virūpāksha and dated Śaka 1404, Plava, Chaitra ba. 4, Monday=A.D. 1481, March 19, refers to Mallirāya as Sāḷuva Mallirājēndra but states that his nephew (*aḷiya*) Dēvarasa-Oḍeya was then

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 61.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 62.

ruling over the Nagire, Tuḷu and Haive *rājyas*. Mallirāya thus appears to have ruled for less than a decade. His nephew Dēvarasa must have been the son of either Kēśavadēvi or Siriyamarasi who, as gathered from the Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1430, were the sisters of Bhairava I, Bhairava II, Tipparasa and Ambirāya. This inscription records that when, under the orders of Sāḷuva Dēvarasa, Raṇagabhināyaka was administering the Haive-rājya, Nijāmuddin Maluk who was governing Goa under the orders of the Sultān of Bidar, marched his forces to Miḍije and was there opposed by the armies of Dēvarasa. The record further states that, in the battle which ensued, Raṇagabhināyaka was imprisoned and that some soldiers lost their lives while attempting to free the prisoner.

The next available inscription²³⁰ of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya's reign is dated in Śaka 1406 = A.D. 1484-85 and refers to a battle fought between the forces of the Nagire ruler and a Muhammadan army. This inscription also provides us with the latest available date for the reign of Virūpāksha in this region. The subsequent history of the Nagire family falls into the period of transition at Vijayanagara when the Saṅgama dynasty was replaced by the Sāḷuva house and will be taken up at the appropriate place.

We may now turn our attention to the history of the Baṅgas. It has been stated above that the Baṅgas were a local family of Jaina chieftains ruling over a principality around Puttūr. Epigraphical references to Pāṇḍyapparasa I (A.D. 1410), Viṭhaladēvi (A.D. 1417), her son Pāṇḍyapparasa II (A.D. 1431 and 1437) and Basavaṇṇarasa (A.D. 1456), who were members of this family, have also been discussed above. The next Baṅga name we meet with in inscriptions is found in a record²³¹ from Keravase, Karkala Taluk, which is dated Śaka 1083 (wrong for 1383), Vishu, Āsvayuja śu. 1, Thursday = A.D. 1461, September 5, Saturday (and not Thursday) and which has already been referred to while narrating the history of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family. The inscription records a political treaty between

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 64.

²³¹ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. B, No. 627.

the Baṅga chief Kāmirāya-arasa Baṅga and the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler Pāṇḍyadēvarasa (II) against mutual enmity and against the chief of the Chauṭa principality. We learn from this record that the Baṅga principality was known by the name of Baṅgavāḍi.

The Indabeṭṭu (Puttur Taluk) inscription of Śaka 1394, Vijaya, Kārttika śu. 15, probably = A.D. 1473, November 4, Thursday, which has already been referred to, contains the latest known date for Kāmirāya-arasa Baṅga. This inscription, which makes no reference to Vijayanagara authority, records a gift of land by the Baṅga chief to one Nañjappa for providing worship, offerings etc., to the god Vīrabhadra of Baṅgavāḍi.

Two inscriptions from the Karkala Taluk contain information about yet another family of local rulers. The earlier of these is an inscription²³² from Nārāvi and bears the date Śaka 1411, Saumya, Mīna 1, probably = A.D. 1489, February 25, Wednesday. This inscription records a gift of land to the temple of Sūrya-nārāyaṇa by Kāmādēvi, the mother of *Maṇḍalika* Sōmanātha-Pennaṇṇarasa-Oḍeya. The other inscription²³³, from Vēṇūr, is dated Śaka 1411, Saumya, Mīna 10, probably = A.D. 1489, March 6, Friday and records a gift of land by the same Kāmādēvi, mother of *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Sōmanātha-Pennaṇṇa-Oḍeya, the ruler of Puñjaḷiya-rājya, for the feeding of ascetics visiting the Śantinātha-chaitya. Though these two records give the ruler only feudatory titles, they do not refer to any imperial authority. We have pointed out in chapter IV, while discussing the Vēṇūr inscription (A.D. 1118) of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sēvyagellarasa, that Puñjaḷiya-rājya was the territory around the modern village of Puñjaḷkatṭe near Vēṇūr in the Karkala Taluk. The prominent reference to the ruler's mother Kāmādēvi in both the records suggests that, like the other Jaina families of the region, the ruling house of Puñjaḷiya-rājya also followed the *aḷiya-santāna* system of succession.

The greatness of the Saṅgama dynasty of Harihara I and Bukka I lasted for over a century and did not long survive the

²³² *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 523.

²³³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 257.

end of Dēvarāya II's reign in A.D. 1448-49. Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha II, who succeeded Dēvarāya II and who occupied the Vijayanagara throne for a little less than four decades between themselves, were both weak and given to vices. The loyalty and the obedient support of the numerous chiefs and the citizens of the vast empire, which the earlier rulers of the Saṅgama dynasty had commanded, was no longer available. The empire was very near extinction. The way in which Virūpāksha II's reign ended offers a fitting illustration to the decay which had set in in the Saṅgama dynasty. He was murdered by his own son in A.D. 1485. The otherwise virtuous parricide declined the throne rendered vacant by his own act. His younger brother 'Padearao', who got the throne, had the parricide executed and then gave himself up to wine and women, and became utterly indifferent to the fate of the kingdom.²³⁴ This Padearao may be safely identified with Pratāparāya to whose reign an inscription²³⁵ from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1409, Plavaṅga, Kārttika śu. 5, Sunday = A.D. 1487, October 21, belongs.

The sorry state of affairs which came to stay at Vijayanagara lifted the veil of the empire's power and greatness. Feudatory chieftains, especially rulers of those principalities which were along the borders of the empire, found their opportunity and declared independence. The many minor principalities in the South and North Kanara districts were quick to utilise this chance. The latest date for Virūpāksha II's reign in the southern parts of the South Kanara district, i.e. in the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, is found in an inscription²³⁶ from Mūḍabidure, bearing the date Śaka 1398, Durmukhi, Māgha śu. 10, Friday = A.D. 1477, January 24. The next date when we meet with an epigraphical evidence²³⁷ for the inclusion of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya within the empire is only in A.D. 1512 when Kṛishṇadēvarāya the great was the emperor. Most of Bārakūru-rājya, on the other hand, continued to form a

²³⁴ *Vide Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 139.

²³⁵ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 473.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 209.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 228.

part of the empire without a break. The explanation for this paradox lies in the fact that, while portions of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya were under powerful chieftains such as those of Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa and Baṅgavāḍi, the Bārakūru-rājya had no such powerful ruling houses. The northern portions of the latter rājya, which were included in the Nagire and Hāḍuvallī rājyas, must have, however, attained independence when the Nagire and Hāḍuvallī chiefs themselves deserted the imperial cause.

While the latest dated inscription of an emperor belonging to the Saṅgama dynasty and found in South Kanara belongs to A.D. 1494, to which year Virūpāksha's inscription from Hosāla, discussed above, belongs, the earliest inscription²³⁸ for a ruler of the Sāḷuva dynasty which replaced the former belongs to A.D. 1490. Both these inscriptions hail from villages which were situated in the Bārakūru-rājya. It is thus obvious that while the southern half and the northern extremes retained their independence for nearly three and a half decades, the central part of South Kanara remained within the empire even during those years of confusion.

We may now turn our attention to the dynastic changes at Vijayanagara and their effects on the Tuḷu country. Pratāpa-rāya (Padearao), who benefitted from his brother's crime and subsequent renunciation, proved himself unworthy of the crown. Sewell aptly observes that in Padearao "the nation merely found repeated the crimes and follies of his dead sire. Disgusted with this line of sovereigns, the nobles rose, deposed their king, and placed on the throne one of their own number, Narasimha."²³⁹

Narasimha claimed to be of Sāḷuva extraction and thus he established the second or Sāḷuva dynasty of Vijayanagara. Before being raised to the throne, he was governing, as a nominal feudatory of Virūpāksha II, the whole of the east coast to the south of the Kṛishṇā. Being then the most powerful chief in the empire, he was naturally the inevitable choice of the disgruntled nobles. Eventually, however, instead of earning their

²³⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 269.

²³⁹ *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 108.

support and loyalty, Sāḷuva Narasiṃha became the object of envy for the very nobles who had helped him usurp the throne.²⁴⁰ Notwithstanding this, the new emperor went about the task of enforcing imperial authority over those regions which had tended to exploit the weakness of the central power for their own aggrandisement.

The usurpation of the imperial throne by Sāḷuva Narasiṃha must have taken place sometime after the date of Pratāparāya's Basarūru inscription, i.e., October 21, A.D. 1487. An inscription²⁴¹ from Hosāḷa, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1412 (expired), 1413 (current), Sādhāraṇa, Kārttika śu. 1, probably = A.D. 1490, October 14, Thursday, gives us the earliest date in South Kanara for the reign of Sāḷuva Narasiṅgarāya-mahārāya and mentions Haṃparasa-Oḍeya as the then governor of Bāra-kūru-rājya.

There is no direct reference in inscriptions either to the loss or to the subsequent reconquest of any part of the Tuḷu country. However, the absence of Vijayanagara inscriptions in the region of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya from A.D. 1477 to 1512, as also the independent nature of the inscriptions of many of the local chieftains during the troubled reign of Virūpāksha II, do support the statement made elsewhere²⁴² that the west coast was lost to the Vijayanagara empire towards the end of the fifteenth century. The attempts made by Sāḷuva Narasiṃha to recover the lost portions of the coastal territory are nowhere alluded to. The presence of his inscription of A.D. 1490 at Hosāḷa, however, proves that he did succeed in retaining within the empire at least the central portions of the Tuḷu country.

That Sāḷuva Narasiṃha did not succeed in recovering the whole of the Tuḷu country is evidenced by known epigraphical records. Thus, as has been stated above, the Maṅgaḷūru region has not brought to light any of his inscriptions. Again, Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, who, as stated above, succeeded Mallirāya as

²⁴⁰ *A History of South India* (II edn.), pp. 263-64.

²⁴¹ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 269.

²⁴² *A History of South India* (II edn.), p. 264.

the ruler of Nagire, receives in an inscription²⁴³ from Kaikiṇi, dated Śaka 1416, Ānanda, Kārttika śu. 5, probably = A.D. 1494, November 3, Monday, sovereign titles such as *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.

Sāḷuva Narasiṃha did not rule for long and died in A.D. 1491, leaving the task of restoring the empire to its former size to his successors. His immediate successor was his eldest son Tirumala or Timma who, soon after his coronation, was murdered in a palace intrigue. Sāḷuva Narasiṃha's younger son Tammarāya *alias* Immaḍi Narasiṃha next ascended the throne. His earliest inscription²⁴⁴ from South Kanara is from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, and bears the date Śaka 1414 (expired), Paridhāvi, Vaiśākha śu. 15, Friday = A.D. 1492, May 11. It refers to Honnakalaśārāya-mahārāya, son of Triyambakarāya, as the governor of Barakūru-rājya.

The dynasty which Sāḷuva Narasiṃha inaugurated in A.D. 1487, in order to save the empire from utter ruin, ended in tragedy within 20 years after its birth when Immaḍi Narasiṃha was murdered in A.D. 1505. His latest inscription²⁴⁵ in South Kanara is from Bārakūru and is dated Śaka 1424 (expired), 1425 (current), Durmati, Māgha śu. 6, Rēvatī = A.D. 1502, January 14. His Tuḷuva inscriptions, so far discovered, come only from the reign of the Bārakūru-rājya. This clearly shows that, as in the reign of Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, parts of the Tuḷu country continued to remain outside the pale of imperial authority.

The murder of Immaḍi Narasiṃha meant the end of the Sāḷuva dynasty. Its place was taken by a line of rulers which has come to be popularly known as the Tuḷuva dynasty. No tangible evidence has so far been discovered which helps to connect this dynastic name with the territory of Tuḷuva. Before discussing the history of this dynasty, we may study the developments which took place in South Kanara during the brief Sāḷuva rule at Vijayanagara.

²⁴³ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 67.

²⁴⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 598.

²⁴⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 345.

The names and the dates of the governors who administered Bārakūru-rājya during this period are as follows:

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Hamparasa-Oḍeya	October 14, A. D. 1490 ²⁴⁶	...
Honnakaḷaśarāya- mahārāya	May 1, A. D. 1492 ²⁴⁷	January 6, A. D. 1494 ²⁴⁸
Sādhāraṇadēva- Oḍeya	July 3, A. D. 1498 ²⁴⁹	July 9, A. D. 1499 ²⁵⁰
Basavarasa- Oḍeya	October 11, A. D. 1499 ²⁵¹	October 1, A. D. 1502 ²⁵²

While two inscriptions, one from Handāḍi²⁵³ and the other from Hosāḷa²⁵⁴ in the Udipi Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1492 and January, A.D. 1494 respectively, refer to Honnakaḷaśarāya-mahārāya as ruling over Bārakūru-rājya under the emperor Immaḍi Narasiṃha *alias* Tammarāya, an inscription²⁵⁵ from Kōṭēśvara, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1415, Paridhāvi, Āśvija ba. 30, Solar eclipse = A.D. 1492, October 21, Sunday ascribes to him the imperial titles *Maharājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Virapratāpa*. This record makes no reference to the emperor of Vijayanagara. In view of the fact that at a subsequent date he is merely referred to as a governor, the ascription of sovereign titles to him in the Kōṭēśvara record may only mean that Honnakaḷaśarāya-mahārāya was an important member of the imperial Sāḷuva family and that, as such, he was not barred

²⁴⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 269.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 598.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 270.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 511.

²⁵⁰ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 364.

²⁵¹ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 364.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 593.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, No. 598.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 270.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1927, No. 386.

from assuming these titles. The Hosāla inscription of A.D. 1494 says that he was appointed governor by Gavurappa-daṇṇāyaka.

An inscription²⁵⁶ from Gīḷiyara, Udipi Taluk, of the reign of Sāḷuva Immaḍi Narasiṃha and dated Śaka 1420 (expired), 1421 (current), Kālayukta, Āshāḍha śu. 15, Tuesday=A.D. 1498, July 3, records a gift of land by Sādhāraṇadēva-Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, to one Narasaṇṇa of the Vasishṭha *gōtra* for the merit of *Mahāpradhāna* Narasaṇṇa-nāyaka-Oḍeya. The Gīḷiyara inscription thus provides us with the earliest reference in any inscription from South Kanara to Narasa-nāyaka of the Tuḷuva dynasty, who was the mainstay of the Vijayanagara empire from A.D. 1491, and whose sons occupied the imperial throne for nearly four decades after the end of the Sāḷuva dynasty. Narasa-nāyaka died in A.D. 1503, during the reign of Immaḍi Narasiṃha. Śaka 1425, Dundubhi, Āśvija ba. 30, Monday, Solar eclipse=A.D. 1502, October 1, Saturday (and not Monday), which is the date of an inscription²⁵⁷ from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is the latest dated reference to Narasa-nāyaka in inscriptions from South Kanara.

Two inscriptions, both dated Śaka 1421 (expired), 1422 (current), Siddhārthi, Dhanus 29, Friday=A.D. 1499, December 27, one from Kāp²⁵⁸ and the other from Yellūru,²⁵⁹ both in the Udipi Taluk, record an agreement of peace between local chieftains without at the same time making any reference to the authority of Vijayanagara. The inscriptions state that Śaṅkarāḍi *alias* Kunda-heggaḍe and his followers and Tirumale-arasa *alias* Madda-heggaḍe agreed to suspend hostilities between Yellūru and Kāp, to support one another in case of attacks from outside and to resort only to peaceful means in settling all the differences which may arise in their midst thenceforward. Reference has been made above to an inscription from Udipi, belonging to A.D. 1476 and mentioning Dēvarāḍi *alias* Kunda-heggaḍe

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 511.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1939-30, No. 593.

²⁵⁸ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 273.

²⁵⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1927-28, No. 392.

and Duggaṇa-sēbita *alias* Madda-heggaḍe. Śaṅkarāḍi and Tirumale-arasa were, thus, the successors respectively of Dēva-rāḍi and Duggaṇa-sēbita in the Kunda-heggaḍe and Madda-heggaḍe families. While the Udiṇi inscription refers itself to the governorship of Viṭharasa-Oḍeya over the Bārakūru-rājya, the Kāp and Yellūru inscriptions are silent about imperial authority. This may mean either that local rulers were left to themselves in dealing with one another or that imperial hold at this time even over the central parts of the Tuḷu country was not complete.

As was stated above, in the year A.D. 1505 Immaḍi Narasiṁha was assassinated and the sway of the Sāḷuva dynasty over the empire was thus suddenly terminated. The throne fell to the lot of the regent Vira Narasiṁha who had succeeded his illustrious father Narasa-nāyaka in that capacity when the latter died in A.D. 1503. Vira Narasiṁha is generally taken to have reigned from A.D. 1505 to 1509. His earliest inscription²⁶⁰ in South Kanara comes from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk and is dated Śaka 1427 (expired), 1428 (current), Prabhava, Kārttika śu. 15, Saturday = A.D. 1506, October 31. It records a gift of land to the god Tirumaladēva of Basarūru by Basavarasa-Oḍeya, for the merit of the king. Basavarasa-Oḍeya was governor of Bārakūru-rājya as early as in A.D. 1499 and appears to have continued in that office in spite of the dynastic changes at Vijayanagara.

Another inscription²⁶¹ of Tuḷuva Vira Narasiṁha, from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1429 (expired), 1430 (current), Vibhava, Kārttika śu. 1, probably = A.D. 1508, October 25, Wednesday, refers to Keṇḍada Basavarasa-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. It records the endowment of a piece of land by one Dugaṇa-setṭi for feeding daily six *brāhmaṇas* in a *maṭha* built by him at Baindūru during the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Indagarasa-Oḍeya, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya, over the Hāḍuvalli-rājya. It has been shown above that

²⁶⁰ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 476.

²⁶¹ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 541.

Indagarasa-Oḍeya was actually the nephew (*aḷiya*) of Saṅgi-rāya-Oḍeya and that he had commenced his reign as early as in A.D. 1449. Thus, on the date of the Baidūru inscription, Indagarasa had been ruler of Hāḍuvallī-rājya for sixty years. The present record shows that by A.D. 1508, the rulers of Hāḍuvallī-rājya had once again become the subordinates of the Vijayanagara emperors. A third inscription²⁶² of the same ruler, from Hosāḷa, Udipi Taluk, dated in the cyclic year Śukla, Chaitra śu. 1, Wednesday=A.D.1509, March 21, refers to Sōvaṇṇa-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

Vīra Narasiṁha is generally taken to have ended his reign in A.D. 1509. However, two inscriptions from South Kanara, referring themselves to his reign, belong to A.D. 1510. The earlier of these, from Basarūru,²⁶³ Coondapur Taluk, is dated Śaka 1432 (expired), 1433 (current), Śukla, Māgha śu. 5, probably =A.D. 1510, January 14, Monday, and refers to Mallapa-nāyaka, brother of Sōvaṇṇa-nāyaka, as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. The other inscription²⁶⁴ is also from Basarūru and bears the date Pramōdūta, Vaiśākha śu. 1, probably =A.D. 1510, April 9, Tuesday. This record also mentions Mallapa-nāyaka as the governor of the Bārakūru-rājya. At the same time, it is also known that Vīra Narasiṁha's illustrious successor was on the throne at least from July, 1509. They perhaps ruled in joint capacity towards the end of the former's reign. In the wake of the Basarūru inscriptions, the story²⁶⁵ that Vīra Narasiṁha had tried to disable Kṛishṇadēvarāya, his half-brother, from securing the throne deserves to be viewed with greater suspicion.

As in the preceding reigns, Maṅgaḷūru-rājya continued to maintain its independence as is proved by the absence of Vijayanagara records in this region. This fact is further supported

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 271.

²⁶³ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 479.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 471. In the published text, the Śaka year has been wrongly read as 1403 (expired) and 1404 (current).

²⁶⁵ *A History of South India* (II edn.), p. 267.

by an inscription²⁶⁶ from Poḷali-Ammunaje, Mangalore Taluk, dated Śaka 1429, Prabhava, Phālguṇa ba. 5, Monday = A.D. 1508, February 21, which refers to a local chieftain without, at the same time, referring to the authority of Vijayanagara. This much damaged inscription refers to the rule of Tirumalerāya-Chauṭa and seems to record some grant made by him to the goddess Poḷaladēvi. The family of the Chauṭas has been referred to above.

Given below is the list of officers who governed over the Bārakūru-rājya during the reign of Tuḷuva Vīra Narasimha.

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
<i>Keṇḍada</i> Basavarasa-Oḍeya	October 31, A. D. 1506 ²⁶⁷	October 25, A. D. 1508 ²⁶⁸
Sōvaṇṇa-Oḍeya	March 21, A. D. 1509 ²⁶⁹	...
Mallapa-nāyaka	January 14, A. D. 1510 ²⁷⁰	April 9, A. D. 1510 ²⁷¹

Vīra Narasimha was succeeded on the throne at Vijayanagara by his half-brother Kṛishṇadēvarāya. His memorable reign "was the period of Vijayanagar's greatest successes, when its armies were everywhere victorious, and the city was most prosperous."²⁷² All Southern India came under Kṛishṇadēvarāya's sway and it is needless to say that, unlike in the preceding reigns, the whole of the Tuḷu country was once again brought under the effective control of Vijayanagara authority. As a matter of fact, the earliest available inscriptions of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's reign in South Kanara come from the Maṅgaḷūru region.

²⁶⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1927-28, No. 372.

²⁶⁷ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 476.

²⁶⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 541.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1931-32, No. 271.

²⁷⁰ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 479.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, No. 471.

²⁷² *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 119.

With these records, one of which comes from Simantūru²⁷³ in the Mangalore Taluk and the other from Puttige²⁷⁴ in the Karkala Taluk, and both of which are dated Śaka 1434, Āṅgīrasa, Jyēshtha ba. 2, Tuesday=A.D. 1512, June 1, Vijayanagara inscriptions begin to reappear in the Maṅgaḷūru region after a lapse of about 35 years. It is not known when and how exactly Kṛishṇadēvarāya re-established imperial authority over the Tuḷu country. The two inscriptions of A.D. 1512 show that the task had been accomplished soon enough after his accession.

The names of the governors who served during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru rājyas and their known dates are given below:

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Ratnappa-Oḍeya	June 1, A. D. 1512 ²⁷⁵	...
Vijayappa-Oḍeya	December 9, A. D. 1514 ²⁷⁶	...
Ratnappa-Oḍeya	December 28, A. D. 1514 ²⁷⁷	January 28, A. D. 1519 ²⁷⁸
Vijayappa-Oḍeya	May 14, A. D. 1519 ²⁷⁹	April 1, A. D. 1520 ²⁸⁰
Vīṭharasa-Oḍeya	August 26, A. D. 1523 ²⁸¹	A. D. 1525-26 ²⁸²
Yatirāya-Oḍeya	February 12, A. D. 1526 ²⁸³	March 26, A. D. 1526 ²⁸⁴

²⁷³ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 340.

²⁷⁴ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 228.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. B, No. 623.

²⁷⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 295.

²⁷⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 501.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 503.

²⁸⁰ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 512.

²⁸¹ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 255.

²⁸² *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 571.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, No. 520.

²⁸⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 355.

Viṭharasa-Oḍeya	October 17, A. D. 1526 ²⁸⁵	...
Vijayaṇṇa-Oḍeya	May 28, A. D. 1528 ²⁸⁶	...
Aliya-Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya	October 14, A. D. 1528 ²⁸⁷	...

Maṅgaḷūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Ratnappa-Oḍeya	June 1, A. D. 1512 ²⁸⁸	April 19, A. D. 1515 ²⁸⁹

Among the governors of the Bārakūru-rājya, Ratnappa-Oḍeya and Vijayappa-Oḍeya, who held that office between themselves from A.D. 1512 to 1520, were related as father and son. Ratnappa-Oḍeya served simultaneously as the governor of the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas*. An inscription²⁹⁰ from Varāṅga, Karkala Taluk, belonging to January, A.D. 1515, states that Ratnappa-Oḍeya was governing the Tuḷu-rājya which included the Bārakūru, Maṅgaḷūru and other *rājyas*. Another inscription²⁹¹ from Mūḍabidure, Karkala Taluk, belonging to April, A.D. 1515, refers to him as the descendant of Baicha-daṇḍādhīpa and ascribes to him the lofty epithets of *sapta-saptati-durg-ādhiśvara* and *mēdinī-mīsara-gaṇḍa*. Baicha-daṇḍādhīpa is obviously the same as Bayicha-daṇḍanāyaka to whose position of eminence in the Tuḷu country during the reigns of Harihara II and Dēvarāya I reference has already been made. Ratnappa-Oḍeya is stated to be serving as governor under the orders of Sāḷuva-Timma.

In all the inscriptions which mention him, Viṭharasa-Oḍeya is stated to be the son of *karaṇika* Lakshminārāyaṇa-Oḍeya.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, No. 355.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1928-29, No. 494.

²⁸⁷ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 525.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 228.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 212.

²⁹⁰ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 528.

²⁹¹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 212.

Yatirāya-Oḍeya served his tenure as governor under the orders of Liṅgarasa-Oḍeya. An inscription from Matpāḍi²⁹² (Udipi Taluk), dated Śaka 1448, Vyaya, Kārttika śu. 12, Tuesday = A.D. 1526, October 17, Wednesday (and not Tuesday), refers itself to the reign of emperor Tirumalarāya and mentions Viṭharasa-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. This Tirumala should be identified with his namesake, the infant son of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Tirumala, though he survived his famous father, died while still a child and never sat on the throne.

Vijayaṇṇa-Oḍeya, who was governor of Bārakūru-rājya in A.D. 1528, is stated to have been appointed to that post by Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya on whom the *rājya* had been conferred by Kṛishṇarāya-nāyaka on whom the territory had earlier been conferred by the emperor himself. A little later, in the same year (A.D. 1528), Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya himself was holding the reigns of the governorship of the Bārakūru-rājay.

An inscription from Basarūru,²⁹³ Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1450 (expired), 1451 (current), Sarvadhāri, Kārttika śu. 1, probably = A.D. 1528, October 14, Wednesday, provides us with the latest known date for the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya in South Kanara.

It is surprising that for the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, only one governor, Ratnappa-Oḍeya, is known for the entire reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. As a matter of fact, Ratnappa-Oḍeya is the last known governor of the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya and the Mūḍa-bidure inscription of April 19, A.D. 1515, which has been discussed above, is the latest known date for any governor who administered the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya under the rulers of Vijayanagara before its fall in A.D. 1565. Kṛishṇadēvarāya wielded, all through his momentous reign, unprecedented power and influence as emperor and it is not possible to conclude, on the basis of the mere absence of his governors in the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya after A.D. 1515, that that region of the Tuḷu country had once again lapsed into independence. As has been pointed out earlier,

²⁹² ARSIE., 1929-30, No. 605.

²⁹³ SII., Vol. IX, part II, No. 525.

the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya included a number of principalities which were under the sway of local ruling families. Krishṇadēvarāya appears to have left these petty chieftains much to themselves as long as they proved their obedience to his authority. In view of this, the appointment of separate governors for the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya was, perhaps, deemed unnecessary.

Some of the inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya from South Kanara throw further light on the history of local ruling houses. The earliest of these are two inscriptions, one from Simantūru,²⁹⁴ Mangalore Taluk, and the other from Puttige,²⁹⁵ Karkala Taluk, both of them dated Śaka 1434, Āṅgīrasa, Jyēshṭha ba. 2, Tuesday = A.D. 1512, June 1. They refer themselves to the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya and state that Ratnappa-Oḍeya was governing the Maṅgaḷūru and Bārakūru *rājyas* under the orders of Sāḷuva Timmaya-daṇṇāyaka. The inscriptions then record an agreement, entered into by Dēvarāḍi-Kunda-heggaḍe of Yellūru, Tirumalarāya-Chauṭa of Puttige and Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe, to the effect that they would thenceforward cease all acts of hostility against one another and that in the event of the invasion of any of their territories by Bhairarasa of Nagire, they will jointly counter the invading forces.

Of these chieftains, Dēvarāḍi-Kunda-heggaḍe was the successor of Śaṅkarāḍi-Kunda-heggaḍe to whose mention in the Kāp and Yellūru inscriptions of A.D. 1499 reference has been made above. Tirumalarasa was the then ruling member of the Kinnika-heggaḍe family. This family is referred to in the Udipi inscription of A.D. 1476 and the Bantakallu inscription of A.D. 1483-85, both discussed above.

Tirumalarāya was the then ruling member of the family of the Chauṭas of Puttige. The Poḷali-Ammunaje inscription, discussed above, shows that Tirumalarāya had been ruling at least from A.D. 1508. His is the first Chauṭa name we come across after that of Allappaśēkhara who is mentioned in the Bārakūru inscription of A.D. 1465, discussed above.

²⁹⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 340.

²⁹⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 228.

The Sīmantūru and Puttige inscriptions also state that the three chieftains agreed to stand united against invasions by Bhairarasa of Nagire. We have stated above that sometime before March, A.D. 1481, the Nagire throne had come to be occupied by Sāluva Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, the nephew of Mallirāya. Dēvarasa-Oḍeya's latest known date is found in an inscription²⁹⁶ from Kaikiṇi, Bhatkal Taluk, North Kanara District. This inscription, dated Śaka 1416, Ānanda, Kārttika śu. 5, probably = A.D. 1494, November 3, Monday, records that *Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sāluva Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, the ruler of the Nagire, Haive, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa *rājyas*, marched with all his forces against Mokadumba, the Mohammadan governor of Gōveya-rājya. The inscription belongs to a period of confusion in the capital of Vijayanagara and hence Dēvarasa-Oḍeya's imperial titles. The claim that he was also the master of the Tuḷu-rājya shows that Dēvarasa-Oḍeya interfered with the local rulers of the Tuḷu country. This belligerent attitude on the part of the powerful Nagire ruler must have brought the local Tuḷuva rulers closer, as is shown by the agreement recorded in the Yellūru and Kāp inscriptions of A.D. 1499, discussed earlier, and the Sīmantūru and Puttige inscriptions.

Bhairarasa, the Nagire chief mentioned in the two inscriptions, may have been the nephew of Sāluva Dēvarasa and may have succeeded him sometime after A.D. 1494. No other references to his reign have come down to us.

The independence of the Nagire house, evidenced by the Kaikiṇi inscription of Dēvarasa, was lost after Kṛishṇadēvarāya ascended the throne at Vijayanagara. This is shown by two other inscriptions²⁹⁷ from Kaikiṇi, dated Śaka 1443, Vishu, Phālguna ba. 3, probably = A.D. 1522, February 13, Thursday. These records refer themselves the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and state that his feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Immaḍi Dēvarāya-Oḍeya was then ruling over the Nagire, Haive, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa *rājyas*. They record that the Nagire ruler set out with

²⁹⁶ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 67.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Nos. 68 and 69.

his army against the portuguese captain of Goa (*Gōveya Paraṅgada Kapitana mēle daṇḍ-etti-hōdalli*) and that, in the battle which was fought at Maḍagōve (i.e. modern Maḍgaon), two heroes named Tammu-nāyaka and Viru-nāyaka fell fighting. This invasion of Goa finds no place in Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's military exploits. It may have been carried out, therefore, on the initiative of Dēvarāya himself. The appellation *Immaḍi* prefixed to his name suggests that Dēvarāya was different from Dēvarasa-Oḍeya whose latest inscription from Kaikiṇi belongs to A.D. 1494. Dēvarasa-Oḍeya had been succeeded by Bhairarasa, who may have been his nephew, and who is referred to in the Sīmantūru and Puttige inscriptions of A.D. 1512. Immaḍi Dēvarāya may have been the nephew of Bhairarasa and, therefore, may have succeeded him sometime after A.D. 1512.

An inscription from Varāṅga, Karkala Taluk, which is dated Śaka 1444, Chitrabhānu, Chaitra ba. 12, Monday = A.D. 1522, March 24, and which has already been discussed in detail while narrating the history of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family, refers itself to the reign of Immaḍi Bhairavarasa without at the same time referring to the emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Immaḍi Bhairarasa succeeded his uncle Bhairava IV, whose latest known date falls in A.D. 1501.²⁹⁸

Immaḍi Bhairarasa's earliest inscription,²⁹⁹ from Kaḷasa, bears the date Śaka 1438, Dhātu, Śrāvaṇa śu. 15, Sunday = A.D. 1516, July 13. It refers itself to the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and names the chief's mother as Bommalaḍēvi, a fact which finds repetition in his Varāṅga inscription of A.D. 1522. It records the interesting fact that the emperor of Vijayanagara marched into the Tuḷu-rājya with his armies and set up his camp in the *Bhuvanaśāle* at Maṅgaḷūru. Immaḍi Bhairarasa claims in the record that, as a result of this imperial action, his own status as a ruler fell into jeopardy. This leads us to believe that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's march into the Tuḷu country followed an act of insubordination on the part of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler. The

²⁹⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 48.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Mg. No. 41.

epigraph further states that the latter resolved to repair the temple of Kaḷaśanātha if the emperor and his forces withdrew and that the desired withdrawal having been effected the temple was accordingly repaired.

Another inscription³⁰⁰ of Immaḍi Bhairarasa, also from Kaḷasa, dated Śaka 1446, Tāraṇa, Bhādrapada śu. 5, Thursday = A.D. 1524, August 4, and referring itself to the reign of Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya, states that he was ruling over the territories both below and above the Ghāṭs. It also refers to his minister (*pradhāna*) Sūrappa-sēnabōva as administering Kaḷasa-sīme.

The latest known date for Immaḍi Bhairarasa's reign is furnished by an inscription³⁰¹ from Kallabasti near Bagguñji in Koppa Taluk, Chikmagalur District, which is dated Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti, Chaitra śu. 10, Wednesday = A.D. 1530, March 9. The glorious reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya had ended in A.D. 1529 and the Kallabasti inscription makes no reference to either his successor Achyutarāya or to imperial authority. It records a grant to Pārśva-Tīrthaṅkara of Kallabasti by Kāḷaladēvi, the younger sister of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chief while she was administering the Baguñji-sīme, for the merit of her deceased daughter Rāmadēvi.

An inscription³⁰² from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, referring itself to the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, is dated Śaka 1445, Chitrabhānu, Māgha śu. 5, probably = A.D. 1523, January 22, Thursday. It records a gift of land to the temple of Sēnēśvara at Baindūru by the minister (*mantri*) Śaṅkarasēnabōva, while *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, son (*kumāra*) of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya, was ruling over all his possessions (*samasta-rājya*) including Baindūru, from his capital Saṅgītapura (i.e. Hāḍuvalli). We have seen above that, according to the Baindūru inscription of Tuḷuva Vīra Narasimha, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Indagarasa-Oḍeya was on the throne of Hāḍuvalli-rājya in A.D. 1508. Indagarasa-Oḍeya had succeeded his uncle Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya whose

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Mg. No. 62.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Kp. No. 47.

³⁰² *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 539.

latest known date fell in A.D. 1431. Since Dēvarasa-Oḍeya calls himself the son (*kumāra*, which really stands for *aḷiya* or nephew) of Saṅgirāya and since the available inscriptions do not suggest the reign of another Saṅgirāya after A.D. 1508, Dēvaraya-Oḍeya may be considered to have been another nephew of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya of A.D. 1431 and as the younger brother of Indagarasa-Oḍeya. Dēvarasa had ended his reign by A.D. 1527 to which year an inscription³⁰³ from Bhaṭkaḷ, mentioning his successor Gururāya-Oḍeya, belongs. It is dated Śaka 1449, Sarvajit, Mārgasīra śu. 15, Saturday, lunar eclipse = A.D. 1527, December 7.

This inscription, which refers itself to the reign of Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya, mentions *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gururāya-Oḍeya as the son (*vara-kumāra*) of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya and as ruling over all his possessions (*samasta-rājya*), including Bhaṭakaḷa, from his capital Saṅgītapura. In spite of the usage of the term *kumāra* = son, Gururāya must be taken to have been the nephew (*aḷiya*) of Saṅgirāya. He must have been the younger brother of both Indagarasa and Dēvarasa. The inscription also refers to an earlier grant made by Yindararasa i.e. Indagarasa. The subsequent history of this family will be discussed along with the reigns of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's successors.

An inscription³⁰⁴ from Sujēru, Mangalore Taluk, dated Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri, Vaiśākha ba. 2, Tuesday = A.D. 1528, May 6, Wednesday (and not Tuesday), which makes no reference to the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, records an interesting pact between two local chieftains, Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa of Puttige and Vira Narasiṁha-Baṅga of Baṅgavāḍi. The agreement, which was brought about by Kṛishṇānanda-Oḍeya and his disciple Vēdānanda-Oḍeya and signed in the presence of Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe, was to the effect that the Baṅga chief should not impede the movements of the Chauṭa and his followers from the east to the west and *vice versa*; that the latter should not, thenceforward, stage any battles at Ammeribaḷa; that the

³⁰³ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part I, No. 7.

³⁰⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 336.

Chauṭa should not impede the movements of the Baṅga and his followers from the south to the north and *vice versa*; that neither of the parties to the agreement should secure soldiers and horses from the ruler of Keravase (i.e. the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler) and invade the other's territory and that neither should capture the *ballāḷus* belonging to the other camp.

Of the names occurring in the inscription, Tuḷuvarasa, the Chauṭa chief of Puttige, was, probably, the direct successor of Tirumalarasa-Chauṭa whose known dates, as pointed out above, fall in A.D. 1508 and 1512. Among the predecessors of the Baṅga chief Vira Narasiṃha, the latest name is that of Kamirāyarasa who, according to the Indabetṭu inscription discussed above, was ruling in A.D. 1473. Tirumalarasa, the Kinnika-heggaḍe chief, in whose presence the agreement was written, is also mentioned in the Simantūru and Kāp inscriptions of A.D. 1512. The Keravase (i.e. Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa) ruler, referred to in the inscription, is Immaḍi Bhairarasa (Bhairava IV of the genealogical table given earlier in this chapter), whose known dates range from A.D. 1516 to 1530.

The agreement recorded in the Sujēru inscription, however, appears to have been broken immediately by the Baṅga chieftain. For, within a week after the date of this inscription, Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa figures in an agreement, between himself and Tirumalarasa Kinnika-heggaḍe and two other local chieftains, the contents of which go inimical, among others, to the Baṅga chief. This latter agreement is of importance to the history of South Kanara as it involves, in one way or the other, almost all the local ruling families of the Maṅgaḷūru region. The agreement which, therefore, needs to be studied in some detail, is found written on two copper plate sets,³⁰⁵ both of them found in Kārkaḷa.

These two charters are both dated Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri, Vṛishabha 14, Monday=A.D. 1528, May 10, Sunday (and not Monday) and are in the form of letters of exchange, recording the same agreement, one charter signed and given by Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa and Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina to

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1921-22, App. A, Nos. 6 and 7.

Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe and Kinnikanimita-Nāḷina and the other *vice versa*. No reference is made to Vijayanagara authority and the agreement is stated to have been brought about by the good offices of Kṛishṇānanda-Oḍeya, who is referred to in the Sujēru inscription as well.

They record that if the Chauṭa and his ally Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina were to be attacked from the south and north by the Baṅga, Bhairarasa of Kārkaḷa and the Kunda-heggaḍe, then the Kinnika-heggaḍe chief and his ally Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷina will assist the defenders with their armies; that if Bhairarasa sues for peace, neither of the two parties to the agreement shall consent for peace without the participation of the other; that if Nandarasa, the chief of Paḍuva-Bidire, fails to act according to the treaty he had signed with the Chauṭa and his ally, Kinnika-heggaḍe and his ally will assist the latter in forcing Nandarasa to act up to his words; that if, on the other hand, the Baṅga, Kārkaḷa and Kunda-heggaḍe chiefs invade the territories of Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe and his ally Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷina, the other parties to the agreement, Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa and Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina, shall help the defenders with their armies; that there shall be no unilateral agreement for peace with Bhairarasa; that, if the Baṅga chief should attack the Kinnika-heggaḍe and his ally, the Chauṭa and his ally shall support the defenders with their three thousand warriors; that the mutual assistance, envisaged by the treaty, should be kept up even if it meant the total destruction of the parties to the agreement.

There is, then, a reference in the two records to a dispute between Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe and Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷina on the one hand and Madda-heggaḍe of Paṇambūru on the other as to who should rightfully claim the revenue income to be collected and paid by the Baṅga and Ajila rulers from the villages of Yekkāru, Kutyattūru and Turatakallu. The record stipulates that the Chauṭa and his ally should assist the Kinnika-heggaḍe and his ally in receiving the revenue income over the claims of Madda-heggaḍe; that if, in order to prevent his rival claimants from getting the amount, Madda-heggaḍe should

resort to force, the Chauṭa and his ally should join the Kinnika-heggaḍe and his ally in laying waste and burning to the ground the territories of Madda-heggaḍe. The records end with the condition that, for all the battles to be fought within the meaning of the treaty recorded in those charters, the warriors should be armed at the expense of their respective masters.

We thus find that the above treaty concerns, in one way or the other, the following ruling families of the Maṅgaḷūru region: Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa (or Keravase); Chauṭa of Puttige; Baṅga of Baṅgavāḍi; Kinnika-heggaḍe; Kunda-heggaḍe; Madda-heggaḍe of Paṇambūru; Ajila; the Nāḷinas and Paḍuva-Bidire. The fact that these rulers shifted their allegiance and friendship from one to the other without the least reference to imperial authority shows the degree of independence which they enjoyed even during the reign of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.

Of these local rulers, the Sujēru inscription mentions the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler as the chief of Keravase, without giving his name, Tuḷuvarasa, the Chauṭa chief of Puttige, Vīra Nara-simha, the Baṅga chief and Tirumalarasa, the Kinnika-heggaḍe chief.

Of the others, the copper-plate charters refer to the Kunda-heggaḍe, Madda-heggaḍe and Ajila families without giving the names of the then ruling members of these houses. According to the Sīmantūru and Puttige inscriptions, Dēvarāḍi was ruling over the Kunda-heggaḍe principality in A.D. 1512. According to the Yellūru and Kāp inscriptions of A.D. 1499, Tirumalarasa was the then Madda-heggaḍe chief. It is not known if these two chiefs had continued to rule when the two Kārkaḷa copper plate charters were issued in A.D. 1528, or had made way for their successors. We learn from these copper plates, for the first time, that the Madda-heggaḍe possessions were situated around Paṇambūru, near Mangalore.

The name of the Ajila chief is not given in either of the copper plates. The Ajilas are referred to in the Mangalore inscription³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 182.

of Dēvarāya I, belonging to A.D. 1418, as assisting Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya, the governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, in administrative matters.

Two chiefs bearing the family name of Nāḷina are mentioned in the copper plate records: Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina as the ally of Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa and Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷina as the ally of Tirumalarasa-Kinnika-heggaḍe. They were, probably, members of two branches of the same family called Nāḷina which is mentioned in these records for the first time.

The principality of Paḍuva-Bidire and its ruler Nandarasa also appear for the first time in these charters. Paḍuva-Bidire is the same as modern Paḍubidri, a village roughly half way between Mangalore and Udipi on the coastal road.

Kṛishṇadēvarāya's inscription³⁰⁷ from Nīlāvara, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1450 (expired), 1451 (current), Sarvadhāri, Jyēshṭha śu. 10, probably=A.D. 1528, May 28, Thursday, records a grant of 7-1/2 *kāṭi-gadyāṇa* (gold coins) to the goddess Durgādēvi of Nīruvāra (i.e. Nīlāvara, the find-spot of the inscription) by Vijayaṇṇa-Oḍeya, the governor of Bārakūru-rājya, for having caused distress to the village. The inscription is a *dāna-paṭṭi* given to the goddess and hence the grant may be termed an act of expiation performed by the governor. The nature of the distress suffered by the village is not given in the inscription.

Kṛishṇadēvarāya's historic reign came to an end in A.D. 1529 when he died perhaps not long after the 23rd of April of that year to which date his inscription in front of the statue of Ugra-Narasimha at Hampi belongs. The end of this great monarch, undoubtedly one of the greatest to have ever ruled in South India, was the beginning of the empire's decline. The glories of his reign appear to the students of history all the greater, and rightly so, because of the fall and shattering of the vast empire into irretrievable bits within four decades of his death for want of a leader of his calibre, energy and enterprise.

Kṛishṇadēvarāya's death was followed by a brief dispute over succession between the supporters of the late emperor's

³⁰⁷ ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 494.

infant son Tirumala and those of his half-brother Achyutarāya. Achyutarāya won the race and crowned himself emperor. He was on the throne for over a decade (A.D. 1530-42). During this period, chieftains ruling over various principalities within the empire and certain nobles at the court of Vijayanagara appropriated more and more powers for themselves at the expense of the imperial throne. Rāmarāya, the late emperor's son-in-law and Salakarāju-Tirumala, the brother-in-law of Achyutarāya, rose to great power at the imperial court but they cared less for the empire's safety and welfare than for self-aggrandisement and each for the other's elimination.

Subsequently, when Achyutarāya died in A.D. 1542, Salakarāju-Tirumala raised Venkaṭa, the young son of the former, to the throne with the ultimate ambition of usurping the throne for himself. In spite of the opposition of Rāmarāya and the nobles at the court, Tirumala had the young emperor and all the members of the royal family liquidated and had himself proclaimed emperor. Rāmarāya and his supporters now took up the cudgels, proclaimed Sadāśivarāya, son of Raṅga who was also a brother of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, as emperor and prepared to challenge the tyrant Salakarāju-Tirumala. Within a few months, Rāmarāya defeated and killed the usurper and placed Sadāśivarāya on the throne at Vijayanagara.

The death of Achyutarāya, the accession and eventual assassination of his young son Venkaṭa, the tyrannical and outrageous rule, for a few months, of the regicide Salakarāju Tirumala, his defeat and death at the hands of Rāmarāya and Sadāśivarāya's elevation to the throne had all transpired in the year A.D. 1542. Sadāśiva lived until A.D. 1576; he was officially styled emperor but had no powers to wield. Until A.D. 1565, Rāmarāya ruled the vast empire in his name; after A.D. 1565, Rāmarāya's brother Tirumala and his son Śrīraṅga ruled in his name over an empire which had, in many respects, ceased to be.

The present work will be concluded with the battle of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi (Taḷikōṭa) fought between the forces of Rāmarāya of Vijayanagara and the combined armies of the Sultāns

of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Berar. With the least expected yet complete rout of the Hindu forces in this battle, the empire of Vijayanagara, conceived by Vidyāranya, set up by Harihara and Bukka and nourished by a line of zealous sovereigns, among them Kṛishṇadēvaraya being the last and most successful, perished in agony. The empire which survived this disastrous defeat was not an extension of the Vijayanagara that fell in Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi but was merely the creation of the then prevailing political circumstances. What effects the destruction of Vijayanagara had upon the then prevailing conditions in South Kanara will be narrated briefly in the last chapter of this work. The political history of that region for the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśiva is given hereunder.

The names and dates of the governors who administered the Bārakūru-rājya during these two reigns are as follows:

Bārakūru-rājya

<i>Governor's name</i>	<i>Earliest known date</i>	<i>Latest known date</i>
Koṇḍa-Oḍeya or Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya	July 2, A. D. 1533 ³⁰⁸	February 26, A. D. 1536 ³⁰⁹
Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya	February 9, A. D. 1537 ³¹⁰	June-July, A. D. 1542 ³¹¹
Achchappa-Oḍeya	August 11, A. D. 1542 ³¹²	November 7, A. D. 1546 ³¹³
Yekadhālakhāna- Oḍeya	April 7, A. D. 1551 ³¹⁴	...

³⁰⁸ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 555.

³⁰⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 487.

³¹⁰ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 578.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 603.

³¹² *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 599.

³¹³ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 621.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Mallappa-Oḍeya	October 27, A. D. 1554 ³¹⁵	...
Kaleya-Yellappa-Oḍeya	January 28, A. D. 1560 ³¹⁶	October 28, A. D. 1562 ³¹⁷

As for the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, it has been pointed out above that since A.D. 1515, even while Kṛishṇadēvarāya was on the throne, the practice of appointing governors for that region had been discontinued. The Maṅgaḷūru region, however, continued to form part of the Vijayanagara empire even during the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśiva.

Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya and Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya were appointed to the post by Suṅkaṇa-nāyaka. An inscription³¹⁸ from Uppūru, Udipi Taluk, dated Śaka 1477 (expired), 1478 (current) (wrong for Śaka 1457-58), Manmatha, Phālguna śu. 5, probably = A.D. 1536, February 26, Saturday, states that Suṅkaṇa-nāyaka, after receiving the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* from Achyutarāya, appointed Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya as governor for the former *rājya*. It has been suggested elsewhere³¹⁹ that Suṅkaṇa-nāyaka may have been of the Keḷadi family and that he may have been the father of Keḷadi Sadāśiva-nāyaka. This suggestion rests upon the conjecture that since Keḷadi Sadāśiva-nāyaka's sons bore the names of Doḍḍa and Chikka Saṅkaṇṇa, their grand father (i.e. Sadāśiva-nāyaka's father) may have had the name of Saṅkaṇṇa. While this will, no doubt, be in keeping with the well-known system of giving a person's name to his grandson, it has to be admitted that the only name by which Sadāśiva-nāyaka's father is known is Chauda. There is, therefore, no conclusive evidence to show that the Keḷadi house had secured sway over the Tuḷu country even during the time of Chauda, the father of Sadāśiva-nāyaka.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 655.

³¹⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 603.

³¹⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 366.

³¹⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 487.

³¹⁹ K. D. Swaminathan: *The Nāyakas of Ikkēri*, pp. 18-19.

The Uppūru inscription records that the governor Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya marched his forces into Uppūru-grāma to support some imperial cause (*Uppūra-grāmada mēle rājakāryava māḍuvāga*) and that, at that time, excesses were committed against the lives of men and the chastity of women. As an act of compensation, Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya made a grant of incomes from taxes to one Śiva-Kēkuḍe. The excesses committed appear to have cost Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya his governorship. For, an inscription³²⁰ from Kōṭeśvara, Coondapur Taluk, dated Śaka 1458, Durmukhi, Māgha ba. 14, Thursday=A.D. 1537, February 8, F.D.T. · 19, records a grant of land and gold by Koṇḍappa-Oḍeya while Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya was serving as governor of the Bārakūru-rājya under the orders of Suṅkaṇa-nāyaka. Though Achyuta-rāya is known to have been on the throne till A.D. 1542, the above record from Kōṭeśvara contains the latest date known for his reign from South Kanara. His young son Veṅkaṭa, who succeeded him, but who was cruelly put to death by his own maternal uncle Salakarāju-Tirumala within a few months, has left behind two inscriptions of his reign in South Kanara. The earlier³²¹ of these, from Handāḍi, Udipi Taluk, is dated Śaka 1465, Śubhakṛit, Bhādrapada śu. 1, Friday, solar eclipse=A.D. 1542, August 12, Saturday (the solar eclipse having occurred on the previous day which was Śrāvaṇa ba. 15, Friday). The other inscription,³²² also from Handāḍi, is dated Śaka 1465, Śubhakṛit, Āśvija śu. 12, Wednesday=A.D. 1542, September 20. Both the records refer to Achchappa-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya and to one Śaṅku-heggaḍe as the builder of the temple of the god Gōpinātha. No record belonging to the brief but bitter reign of Salakarāju Tirumala has been found in South Kanara.

³²⁰ *III*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 578. While publishing the text, the details of the date contained in the record were wrongly equated to February 8, A.D. 1536. The name of the governor, Paṇḍaridēva-Oḍeya has not been read in the published text and hence Suṅkaṇa-nāyaka himself is stated in the introduction to have been the governor on that date.

³²¹ *ARSIE*, 1929-30, No. 599.

³²² *Ibid.*, No. 597.

The earliest inscription³²³ from South Kanara for the reign of Sadāśivarāya, who was placed on the throne in A.D. 1542 itself, is from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, and bears the date Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Kārttika śu. 1, probably = A.D. 1546, October 25, Monday. An inscription³²⁴ from Kōṭēśvara in the same Taluk, bearing two dates, namely Śaka 1469, Parābhava, Kārttika śu. 15, probably = A.D. 1546, November 7, Sunday, and Virōdhikrit, Vaiśākha śu. 5, probably = A.D. 1551, April 11, Saturday, states that, on the former date, Achchappa-Oḍeya was governing the Bārakūru-rājya under orders from Venkaṭādrirāja-Mahārāya-arasu, on whom the *rājya* had been conferred by Sadāśivarāya and that, on the latter date, Yekadhāḷakhāna-Oḍeya was administering the same province under orders from Rāmarāja and Venkaṭādrirāja. Rāmarāja was the son-in-law of Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya and Venkaṭādri was his younger brother. Yekadhāḷakhāna is the only Muslim officer known from records to have held the post of governor of the Bārakūru-rājya.

The contents of the record pertaining to the second date (A.D. 1551) are of some significance. It is stated that the whole of Tuḷu-rājya collected at Kōṭēśvara to celebrate the festival named therein as *Tuḍiya-habba*. For reasons not stated in the record, a great disturbance arose and the pilgrims were involved in armed fights among themselves. The dead bodies of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūdras* and even of cows lay scattered within the precincts of the Kōṭēśvara temple. Having been thus defiled, the temple was closed and all worship and services to the deity were suspended. As an act of expiation and in order that merit may accrue to Rāmarāja and Venkaṭādri, Yekadhāḷakhāna made certain grants thus enabling the temple to return to its former sanctity and grandeur. It is stated in the record that the tragedies at the *Tuḍiya-habba* had occurred six months before the date of the record i.e. Vaiśākha śu. 5. *Tuḍi* stands for an ornamented lamp and the sixth month before Vaiśākha was Kārttika. Thus, *Tuḍiya-habba*, in all probability, refers to the festival of lights.

³²³ *III.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 620.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 621.

An inscription³²⁵ of Sadāśiva from Basarūru, Coondapur Taluk, is of much importance for the history of South Kanara. It is dated Śaka 1476, Ānanda, Kārttika śu. 1, probably = A.D. 1554, October 27, Saturday. It records that, under orders from Sadāśivarāya, Sadāśiva-nāyaka made himself master of the Tuḷu-rājya and appointed Mallappa-Oḍeya as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya. Sadāśiva-nāyaka was a member of the Keḷadi royal house which continued its hold over the Tuḷu country even after the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565.

King Basavarāja of the Keḷadi dynasty states³²⁶ in his *Śivatattvaratnākara* that Rāmarāja offered as a prize to Sadāśiva-nāyaka, for his acts of bravery and loyalty, the provinces of Gutti, Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru. A little later on in the same work, Basavarāja says³²⁷ that Sadāśiva-nāyaka was asked to subdue the scheming chieftains of Kēraḷa and Tuḷuva and that the order was not only carried out but that Sadāśiva-nāyaka took the defeated chieftains as prisoners to the imperial capital. This invasion of the Tuḷu country by the Keḷadi chieftain finds no mention in the epigraphical records of the region. It may be that after the passing away of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, the Tuḷuva chieftains had become once again recalcitrant and that Sadāśiva-nāyaka, on whom the region had been bestowed, took the necessary military steps to ensure his actual authority over the territory. An inscription³²⁸ from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Coondapur Taluk, belonging to May, A.D. 1562, refers to the territorial gifts received by Sadāśiva-nāyaka from Rāmarāja, including the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas*, as *amara-māgaṇi* i.e. perpetual fiefs. This inscription records the construction of a *maṭha* for Virūpākshadēva by the Keḷadi chief in order that his deceased parents, Chaudapa and Tirumamma may attain *Kailāsa-padavi*.

A copper-plate inscription³²⁹ from Kārkaḷa, dated Śaka

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 655.

³²⁶ *Śivatattvaratnākara*, Kallōla 5, Taraṅga 5, verse 20.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, verse 30 ff.

³²⁸ *SHI.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 674.

³²⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1921-22, App. A, No. 8.

1479, Naḷa, Kārttika śu. 1, Sunday = A.D. 1556, October 4, refers itself to the reign of Sadāśivarāya and Rāmarāja from Vijayanagara and to the sway of Keḷadi Sadāśiva-nāyaka over the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas*. It records the grant of lands to his preceptor Munichandradēva by Tirumalarasa-Madda-heggaḍe and his ally Gaṇapaṇa-sāmanta-Nāḷina. The record gives a description of the town of Kāpu which was included in the Madda-heggaḍe principality. We have seen above that, according to the Yellūru and Kāp inscriptions of A.D. 1449, the name of the then Madda-heggaḍe chief was Tirumalarasa. The name of the chieftains of this family who succeeded him and preceded his namesake of the Kārkaḷa copper plate inscription under study, are not found given in the available records of the region.

It has been shown above that Paṇambūru, a coastal village to the north of Mangalore, was included in the Madda-heggaḍe principality. Kāpu, which, according to the copper-plate inscription in question, fell within the same principality, is a village lying on the coast, roughly 20 miles to the north of Paṇambūru. It may be concluded from this that the Madda-heggaḍe principality was a linear tract lying along the west coast.

The two copper-plate charters from Kārkaḷa, belonging to A.D. 1528 and discussed above in some detail, mention Tirumalarasa-Nāḷina and Kinnika-nimita-Nāḷina as two local chieftains. It is not known if Gaṇapaṇa-sāmānta-Nāḷina, figuring in the copper-plate inscription under study, was a successor to any of these two Nāḷinas or was a member of a third branch of the family.

We have seen above that, even during the reign of Kṛṣṇa-dēvarāya, records of the local rulers of the Maṅgaḷūru region lacked references to Vijayanagara authority. The copper-plate inscription under study makes a departure in this regard by referring to the subordination of the Tuḷu-rājya to the authority of Sadāśivarāya, Rāmarāja and Keḷadi Sadāśiva-nāyaka. It is likely that after the death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, when the empire witnessed another period of dynastic confusion, the local Tuḷuva

rulers regained their independence, which they had been enjoying under sufferance during Kṛishṇadēvaraya's reign. Sadāśiva-nāyaka, in all probability, subdued these chieftains and asserted his own supremacy over them, as is evidenced by the Kārkaḷa copper-plate record of A.D. 1556.

Two stone inscriptions³³⁰ from Baindūru, Coondapur Taluk, both of them dated Śaka 1482, Siddhārthi, Vaiśākha śu. 15, probably = A.D. 1559, April 21, Friday, and belonging to the reign of Sadāśivarāya, refer to the rule of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chenna-Bhairādēvi-Amma, the daughter (*vara-kumārī*) of Bhairādēvi-Amma, over her kingdom (*samasta-rājya*) including Bayidūru-rājya, from her capital at Saṅgitapura (i.e. Hāḍuvallī).

In the last passage dealing with the history of the Hāḍuvallī family, it was pointed out that by A.D. 1527, Dēvarasa-Oḍeya had been succeeded by his nephew Gururāya-Oḍeya. In April, A.D. 1530, Gururāya-Oḍeya invaded the possessions of the Nagire ruler Immaḍi Sāluva Kṛishṇadēvarasa and carried his arms right upto the city of Nagire before his progress was effectively checked by the defenders. In the battle, fought near about Nagire, Gururāya-Oḍeya sustained defeat and was saved from complete rout only by the valour of his soldier Īśvara-dēva-nāyaka whose death in the battle the inscription seeks to commemorate.³³¹ Some time before A.D. 1542, Gururāya-Oḍeya ended his reign and the Hāḍuvallī-rājya came for the first time under the reign of a queen. This fact is brought to light by two inscriptions³³² from Bhaṭkaḷ, Bhatkal Taluk, North Kanara District, both dated Śaka 1465, Śubhakṛit, Kārttika śu. 15, Monday = A.D. 1542, October 23. They belong to the reign of Achyutarāya and state that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chennā-dēvi Amma, niece (*sose*) of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, was ruling over Hāḍuvallī, Bhaṭakaḷa and other *rājyas* from her headquarters at Saṅgitapura. They then record that the Portuguese captain of Goa (*paraṅgada Kapita*) laid siege to Bhaṭakaḷa, burnt the city

³³⁰ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, Nos. 540 and 542.

³³¹ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part I, No. 8.

³³² *Ibid.*, Nos. 12 and 13.

and marched on the palace when Eṅkappa-nāyaka, attached to the service of Gururāya-Oḍeya, stopped the enemies at the gates and fell fighting. The statement that Chennādēvi-Amma was the then Hāḍuvallī ruler and the reference to the deceased hero as in the service of Gururāya-Oḍeya show that the latter had ceased to be ruler not long before the date of the Bhaṭkaḷ inscriptions. This is further proved by the fact that foreign travelers noted the reign of a king over the region in A.D. 1540 while, according to the same source, the throne had passed over to a queen in A.D. 1543.³³³

Chennādēvi-Amma of the Bhaṭkaḷa inscriptions is to be identified with Chenna-Bhairādēvi-Amma of the two Baindūru inscriptions of A.D. 1559. While these two records refer to her as the daughter of Bhairādēvi-Amma, the two Bhaṭkaḷa inscriptions state that she was the niece of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya. Dēvarasa-Oḍeya was the brother and predecessor of Gururāya-Oḍeya and Bhairādēvi must have been the sister not only of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, but also of his predecessor Indagarasa-Oḍeya and successor Gururāya-Oḍeya, who were all of them nephews of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya. The specific reference in the records to Chenna-Bhairādēvi-Amma as the niece (*sose*) only of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya may be because of the fact that while Dēvarasa-Oḍeya and Bhairādēvi were born of one mother, Indagarasa and Gururāya may have been born of another sister (or other sisters) of Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya. The name of the mother of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya and Bhairādēvi-Amma was Virādēvi, who is described in an inscription³³⁴ of A.D. 1545 and 1551 as Chenna-Bhairādēvi Amma's grandmother.

The latest known date for the rule of Chenna-Bhairādēvi-Amma is furnished by the two Baindūru inscriptions discussed above viz., Friday, April 21, A.D. 1559. She reigned well and perhaps long enough to have witnessed the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565. An inscription³³⁵ from Bhaṭkaḷ describes her

³³³ *The Nāyakas of Ikkēri*, p. 55 and notes.

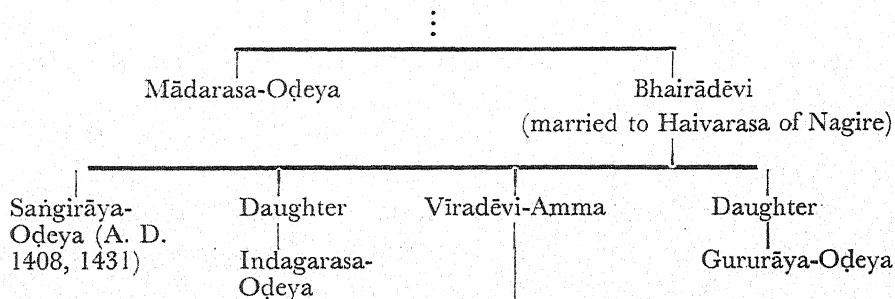
³³⁴ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part I, No. 15.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 14.

as having earned the goodwill of the emperor Sadāśiva. Her inscription³³⁶ of A.D. 1556 from Bhaṭkaḷ describes Chenna-Bhairava-Mahādēvi as the daughter of Bhairādēvi and as the niece (*sose*) of Krishṇadēva-nṛpati. From this it may be concluded that Dēvarasa-Oḍeya also had the name of Krishṇa-dēvarasa. This record eulogises Chenna-Bhairādēvi-Amma as a great devotee of the Jina and as having earned the praise of the learned and the poets. Jeṭṭināyaka, whose munificence and diplomacy were well-known and Viraṇa-nāyaka, who was as generous as he was brave, were, according to this record, her minister (*pradhāna*) and general (*sēnā-pati*) respectively.

Chenna-Bhairādēvi-Amma is the last ruler of the Hāḍuvalli-rājya whose inscriptions have come down to us. According to foreign travellers,³³⁷ the Hāḍuvalli principality was subject to the reign of a queen in A.D. 1567 and even in A.D. 1569 and was finally annexed into the Keḷadi kingdom by Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka I (A.D. 1586-1629). Buchanan tells³³⁸ us that ever-since the spread of the Keḷadi power over this region, the Śaiva faith of the Keḷadi rulers and the Jaina faith of the local rulers of the Tuḷu country clashed and that Hāḍuvalli was finally destroyed by the rulers of Keḷadi.

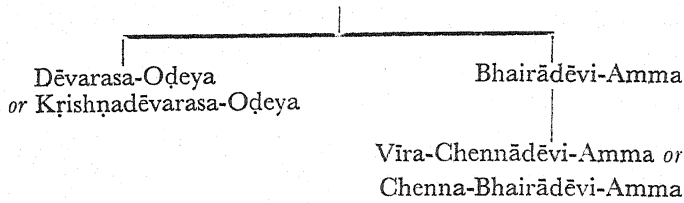
The lineage of the ruling house of Hāḍuvalli is given below in the form of a genealogical tree:



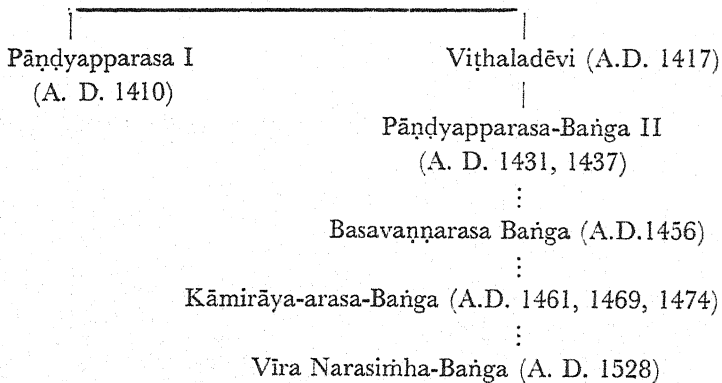
³³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 17.

³³⁷ *The Nāyakas of Ikkēri*, p. 55.

³³⁸ *Buchanan's Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 109.



A much damaged inscription³³⁹ from Baḍaga-Kajakār, Mangalore Taluk, records an order issued by Keḷadi Sadāśiva-nāyaka to the Baṅga chief, whose name is not given in the record, in the cyclic year Dundubhi, Chaitra ba. 5, Wednesday = A.D. 1562, March 25. We have seen above that, according to the Sujēru inscription of A.D. 1528, the then Baṅga chieftain was Vira-Narasimha-Baṅga. The name of the Baṅga chieftain at the time of the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565 was Laksh-mappa Baṅga.³⁴⁰ Buchanan tells³⁴¹ us that the Baṅga principality was put an end to by the Keḷadi rulers. The names and dates of the Baṅga chieftains as gleaned from available records are listed below:



An inscription³⁴² from Ariguḍi, Puttur Taluk, dated Śaka 1484, Dundubhi, Vaiśākha śu. 3, Monday = A.D. 1562,

³³⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, No. 529.

³⁴⁰ *QJMS.*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 69-71.

³⁴¹ *Buchanan's Southern India*, Vol. III, pp. 68-69.

³⁴² *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 348.

April 6, when Sadāśivarāya was the nominal emperor, states that *aḷiya* Rāmappayadēva-Mahā-arasa was ruling over the empire from the bejewelled throne at Vijayanagara. We have shown above that Keḷadi Sadāśiva-nāyaka claims in some of his inscriptions from South Kanara that the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* were conferred upon him by Rāmarāya and his brother Venkaṭādri. These only illustrate the well known historical fact that *aḷiya* Rāmarāya and his brother had become very powerful well before the fatal year of A.D. 1565.

A few inscriptions bearing dates which fall within the reign periods of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya refer themselves to the rule of local rulers without, at the same time, referring to imperial authority. One such is an inscription³⁴³ from Vēṇūr, Karkala Taluk, dated Śaka 1459, Hēmalambi, Kārttika śu. 10, Sunday = A.D. 1537, October 14. It records the installation of the images of 24 Tirthaṅkaras in the Śāntiśvara-chaitya at Vēṇūru by *maṇḍalika* Sōmanātha..... Sāḷuva Pāṇḍyadēvarasa-Ajila, ruler of Āruva-rājya and son of Honnammadēvi, and by his minister (*pradhāni*) Ādyadēvarasa. They also made certain grants of land which were entrusted to the care of Pāṇḍyappaḍeya.

Though the Ajila family finds mention as early as in A.D. 1418, to which year the Mangalore inscription of Dēvarāya I, discussed earlier, belongs, we do not find any other earlier member of this family mentioned by name in the available records from South Kanara. Pāṇḍyappaḍeya of this inscription is to be identified with the then Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler in whose territory Vēṇūru was included.

Three inscriptions from Paḍuva-Paṇambūru in the Mangalore Taluk reveal that, during this period, that village and its surroundings were under the rule of a family named Sāmanta. Two of these inscriptions, one³⁴⁴ belonging to August, A.D. 1542 and the other³⁴⁵ to February, A.D. 1559, refer themselves to to the rule of Duggaṇa-sāmanta, the nephew (*aḷiya*) of Kinnika-

³⁴³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 256.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 262.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 263.

sāmanta. The third inscription,³⁴⁶ also belonging to August, A.D. 1542, refers to the rule of Kinnika-sāmanta. It may be concluded, therefore, that Kinnika-sāmanta was succeeded by his nephew Duggaṇa-sāmanta in August, A.D. 1542. Duggaṇa-sāmanta's record of A.D. 1542 registers a gift of land made by the chieftain with the consent of his elder sister (*akka*) Chennammadēvi. This was necessitated obviously because of the *aḷiya-santāna* system followed by the Sāmanta family according to which Chennammadēvi's son (whose name we do not know) would eventually succeed Duggaṇa-sāmanta.

While narrating the history of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family, it was stated above that Immaḍi Bhairavarasa (Bhairava V of the succession tree given above) succeeded his uncle Bhairava IV sometime after A.D. 1501. The latest known date for Bhairava V falls in A.D. 1530.³⁴⁷ We have seen above that his successor Pāṇḍyappaḍeya is referred to in the Vēṇūr inscription of A.D. 1537. The earliest direct reference to his reign is furnished by his inscription from Kaḷasa, bearing the date Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit, Jyēshṭha śu. 3, Thursday=A.D. 1542, May 17, Wednesday (and not Thursday). His inscription³⁴⁸ from, Hiriyaṅgaḍi, Karkala Taluk, gives us some information about this ruler. Dated Śaka 1467, Krōdhi, Māgha śu. 4, Sunday=A.D. 1544, January 16, Friday (and not Sunday), it gives his name as Pāṇḍya-prithvīpati and Pāṇḍyappaḍeya. He is described as belonging to the Lunar race (*Sōma-kula*) and to the family of Jinadatta. He was the son of Chandalāmbā, the sister (*paṭṭa-bhaginī*) of Bhairavarāja (i.e. Bhairava V or Immaḍi Bhairarasa). The inscription records that Pāṇḍyappaḍeya had the Chaturmukha-basti built in the Pāṇḍya-nagari, which formed a part of the capital city of Kārkaḷa.

In March, A.D. 1543 Pāṇḍyappaḍeya and the Chauṭa chieftain entered into a political agreement. The two copper

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 264.

³⁴⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 47.

³⁴⁸ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 248.

plate records³⁴⁹ from Kārkaḷa which register this agreement state that Pāṇḍyappaḍeya, son of Chandaladēvi and ruler of Keravase, and Tirumalarasa-Chauṭa agreed, in the presence of Māramma-heggaḍe of Yermāl, to help each other, the former with his men and horses and the latter with his men alone, in case any of their territories should be invaded by a third ruler or by a *danḍanāyaka*; that they will not enter into unilateral agreements with a third party; and that they will extradite any criminal who should commit the crime in one principality and escape to the other.

We have pointed out above that Pāṇḍyappaḍeya is referred to as early as in October, A.D. 1537 in an inscription from Vēṇūr. His latest record,³⁵⁰ from Kaḷasa, is dated Śaka 1478, Rākshasa, Āśvija śu. 13, Saturday = A.D. 1555, September 28, and names Pāṇḍyappaḍeya's kingdom as Keravaseya-paṭṭa. He is also given the appellation *Immaḍi*. One Bhayirarasa-aṇṇa, son of Bommarājarasa, is stated to be administering Kaḷasa-sīme. It is not known if Pāṇḍyappaḍeya was still on the throne in A.D. 1565 or whether he had been succeeded by his nephew. The next time we hear of a Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler is only in October, A.D. 1579 when, according to an inscription³⁵¹ from Hiriyaṅgaḍi, Karkala Taluk, Bhairavarasa-Oḍeya was ruling over the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa kingdom. He may have been the nephew and direct successor of Pāṇḍyappaḍeya. According to two inscriptions, one from Hiriyaṅgaḍi³⁵² and belonging to A.D. 1593 and the other from Koppa,³⁵³ Chikmagalur District and belonging to A.D. 1598, Pāṇḍyappaḍeya, nephew of Bhairarasa-Oḍeya was on the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa throne during the closing years of the 16th century. But the history of this family subsequent to A.D. 1565 is beyond the scope of this work. Suffice it to say that, according to Buchanan,³⁵⁴

³⁴⁹ ARSIE., 1921-22, App. A, Nos. 4 and 5.

³⁵⁰ Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Mg. 60.

³⁵¹ SII., Vol. VII, No. 243.

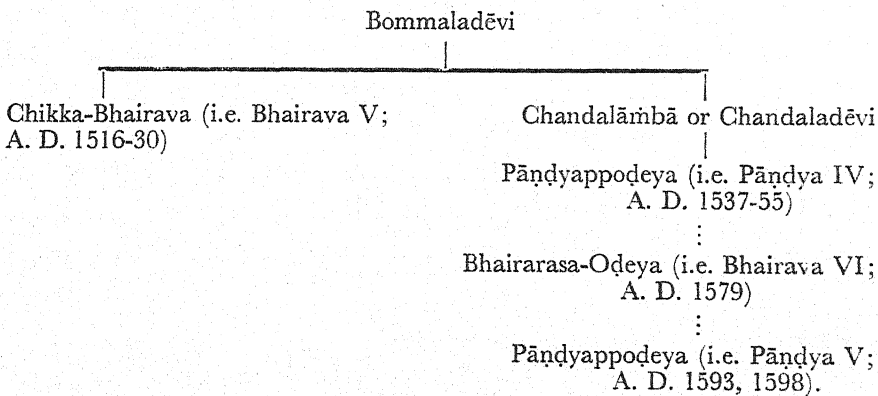
³⁵² Ibid., No. 244.

³⁵³ Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Kp. 50.

³⁵⁴ Buchanan's Southern India, Vol. III, p. 82.

the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family was overthrown by the Keḷadi rulers. It is, however, certain that the reduction of this power was not achieved by the Keḷadi house in one attempt. For, the *Keḷadi-nṛīpa-vijaya* says³⁵⁵ that the Keḷadi ruler Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa-nāyaka (A.D. 1566-71) defeated in battle the scheming ruler of Kārakaḷa, Bhairarasa-Oḍeya, and extracted tributes from him. Again, according to the same work,³⁵⁶ Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka I (A.D. 1586-1629) defeated Bhairarasa-Oḍeya and annexed into his own kingdom the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa principality, including Koppa, Bellare, Kārakaḷa and Kaḷasa. Bhairarasa-Oḍeya being a common dynastic name for the rulers of this family, the proper names of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa rulers defeated by Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa and Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka are not known from any source. In view of the known dates of Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka, we may conclude that his victim was Pāṇḍyappoḍeya of the Hiriyaṅgaḍi and Koppa inscriptions who is the last known Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler and whose known dates fall in A.D. 1593 and 1598. The power of the Bhairarasa-Oḍeyas did not end even with this defeat and they continued to contest the authority of the Keḷadi rulers even afterwards.³⁵⁷

The succession tree given earlier in this chapter stops with Chikka Bhairava or Bhairava V. The rest of the genealogy is tabulated hereunder:



Before closing this chapter, the further history of those ruling houses of South Kanara which have been dealt with above but whose inscriptions falling within the reign periods of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya have not been found in South Kanara, needs to be given.

In the last passage dealing with the history of the Nagire ruling family, it was stated that Dēvarāya-Oḍeya, whose latest known date fell in A.D. 1494, was succeeded by his nephew Bhairarasa-Oḍeya, whose earliest known date fell in A.D. 1512. Bhairarasa in his turn was succeeded by Immaḍi Dēvarāya-Oḍeya who, after the brief period of independence enjoyed by his predecessors, had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya. Immaḍi Dēvarāya-Oḍeya was on the throne as early as in A.D. 1516 in which year he is stated, in an inscription³⁵⁸ from Bastimakki, Bhatkal Taluk, to be ruling over the Nagire, Haive, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa *rājyas*. Reference has already been made to Immaḍi Dēvarāya-Oḍeya's invasion of Portuguese Goa in A.D. 1522. We learn from an inscription³⁵⁹ from Kaikini, dated Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti, Mēsha, Vaiśākha ba. 10, Friday = A.D. 1530, April 22, that this ruler also had the name of Immaḍi-Sāḷuva-Kṛishṇa-Dēvarasa-Oḍeya. The battle which this Nagire chief fought against the invading forces of the then Hāḍuvalli chief Gururāya-Oḍeya has already been discussed.

Immaḍi Kṛishṇa-Dēvarasa-Oḍeya appears to have been a half-brother of his predecessor Bhairarasa and, therefore, a younger nephew of Dēvarāya-Oḍeya. For, another inscription³⁶⁰ from Bastimakki, belonging to May, A.D. 1538, states that he was the son of Padmāmbikā, the sister of Dēvarāya-Oḍeya and Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya who are stated therein to be the descendants of Māvarasa. It will be seen from the genealogical tree of this family given earlier in this chapter that Māvarasa, also known as Maṅga, was one of the early members of this family. Dēvarāya-Oḍeya, one of the brothers of Padmāmbikā, is to be

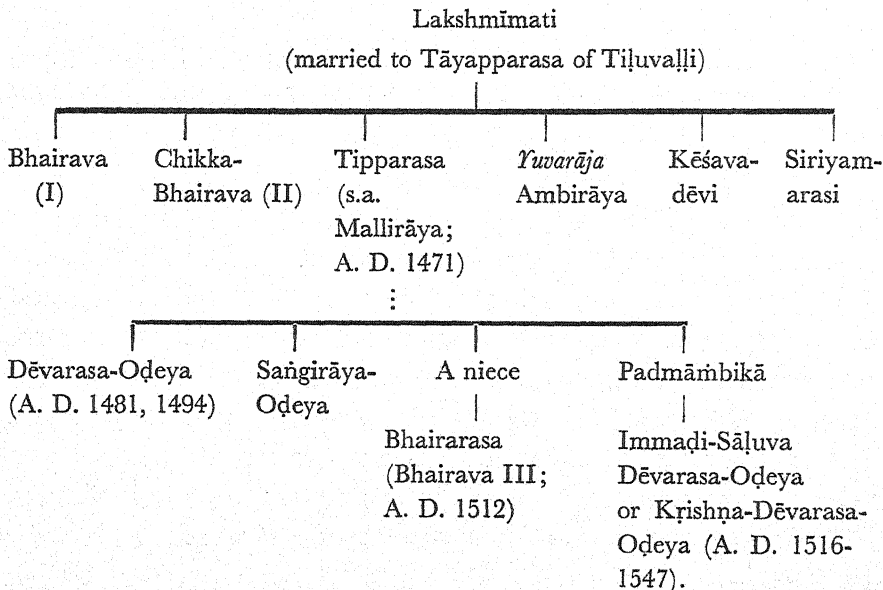
³⁵⁸ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part I, No. 9.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 8.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 9, text, lines 5-6.

identified with his namesake, the predecessor of Bhairarasa. The other brother, Saṅgirāya-Oḍeya did not rule. The name of Bhairarasa is omitted in the Bastimakki inscription probably because he was the son of a sister of Dēvarāya-Oḍeya other than Padmāmbikā. The latest known inscription³⁶¹ of Kṛishṇa-Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, found in Māvalli, Bhatkal Taluk and belonging to May, A.D. 1547, states that he was ruling over the Nagire, Haive, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa *rājyas* from his capital at Geresoppa in the Tuḷu country.

Epigraphical evidence on the history of this family stops with the Māvalli inscription of A.D. 1547, referred to just now. It is reasonable to presume that, like the other Jaina ruling houses of the region, the Nagire family too was reduced to a position of unimportance by the Keḷadi rulers. Keḷadi Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka is actually credited with the conquest and annexation of Geresoppa, the capital of the Nagire principality.³⁶² The succession tree given earlier in this chapter for this family stopped with Bhairava (I), Chikka Bhairava (II) and Yuvarāja Ambirāya. The rest of the tree is given below:



³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, No. 16.

³⁶² *Keḷadi-nṛīpa-vijaya*, V *āśvāsa*, p. 78.

The Chauṭa rulers of the region around Puttige make their appearance in inscriptions for the first time, as shown above, in A.D. 1390. Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa's successor Tirumalarasa-Chauṭa figures in the Kārkaḷa copper plates of A.D. 1543 which register his compact with his Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa contemporary Pāṇḍyappaḍeya. The names of the Chauṭa chieftains as also their dates known from available inscriptions are given below:

Vikra-Chauṭa (A. D. 1390)
⋮
Sāṇtheya-Chauṭa (A. D. 1431)
⋮
Jōgi-Oḍeya-Chauṭa (A. D. 1434)
⋮
Allappaśēkhara-Chauṭa (A. D. 1465)
⋮
Tirumalarāya-Chauṭa (A. D. 1508, 1512)
⋮
Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa (A. D. 1528)
⋮
Tirumalarasa-Chauṭa (A. D. 1543)
⋮
Chikkarājarasa-Chauṭa (A. D. 1578)

The last named of these rulers, Chikkrājarasa-Chauṭa, finds mention in two records, belonging to November, A.D. 1578, from Beṭṭakēri, Karkala Taluk. Buchanan records³⁶³ that at a time of dissension between the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa and Chauṭa chieftains the Keḷadi ruler entered the frey and annexed their territories in the name of the defunct Vijayanagara empire. This implies that the compact signed by these two ruling families in A.D. 1543 was no longer in effect. The *Keḷadi-nṛīpa-vijaya*, however, merely mentions³⁶⁴ the Chauṭas as one among the many local ruling houses of the Maṅgaḷūru region defeated by Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka.

³⁶³ Buchanan's *Southern India*, Vol. III.

³⁶⁴ *V āśvāsa*, 54 and 55.

Among the other minor families of Tuḷuva which have made their appearance earlier in this work and which were defeated by Keḷadi Veṅkaṭappa-nāyaka, was the Toḷaha family of Surāla which finds mentions as early as in A.D. 1129 in the Bārakūru inscriptions of Kavi Āḷupendra but whose records make frequent appearance only after A.D. 1565. For the period before A.D. 1565, inscriptions of the other minor families of South Kanara, like those of the Ajilas, Nāḷinas, Sāmantas, and the *heggaḍes* are few and far between.

The actual history of South Kanara as a part of the Vijayanagara empire came to an end in A.D. 1565 with the disastrous battle of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi. In subsequent years, the erstwhile Āḷupa kingdom became a part of the Keḷadi kingdom and the allegiance of the Keḷadi rulers to the loosely-knit empire, which sprang from out of the ruins of the battle of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi, was only nominal. The history of the Keḷadi dynasty after Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi falls outside the scope of this work.

It may, however, be pointed out, in conclusion, that the inscriptions of the post-1565 period from South Kanara do not contain much information for the political history of the region. Most of them are in the nature of records registering grants by private individuals and a few refer themselves to the reigns of local rulers. Even the few available Vijayanagara records of the period do not help us in knowing the extent of the weakened empire's power over the Tuḷu country.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADMINISTRATION¹

The early inscriptions of South Kanara do not contain much information regarding the administrative set up of the region under the early Āḷupas. Naturally enough and as everywhere else, the king was at the top of the administrative hierarchy and wielded supreme powers within his kingdom. The absolute independence which the early Āḷupas enjoyed in their sway over the South Kanara region is clearly borne out by the fact that while inscriptions outside South Kanara mention them as the feudatories of one or another imperial ruler, not one of their inscriptions found within the Tuḷu country ever ascribes to them a subordinate title or epithet, let alone refer to a suzerain power over them. As a matter of fact, as has been pointed out in the earlier chapters, none of the Āḷupa inscriptions found in South Kanara, throughout that dynasty's long rule over that territory, from at least the middle of the seventh to the end of the fourteenth century, betrays a status of subordination for the Āḷupas. The importance and sanctity attached by the early Āḷupas to the formalities of coronation are revealed by the Udiyāvara inscription² of Prithvīsāgara which states that he had himself formally crowned (*paṭṭam-gaṭṭisi*) before fighting to capture the throne at Udayapura.

The inscriptions of the Āḷupas do not, even once, mention the name of the kingdom as Āḷuva-khēḍa though the region is referred to as Āḷuka and Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000

¹ Accounts of administrative, social, economic and religious conditions, given in this work, are restricted to the material contained in the local inscriptions and are to be taken as supplements to the well-known writings of earlier scholars like Saletore, who have devoted sufficient space to such matters.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 19-20, No. IV and plate.

in certain records from adjacent territories. We have shown above that the Bārakūru inscriptions³ of Baṅkidēva I (A. D. 1020-50) give the name of the kingdom as Tuḷu-vishaya.

During the period of the early Ālupas, their kingdom was primarily divided into divisions called *nāḍu*. Each *nāḍu* was placed in charge of an officer whose functions were expressed in the phrase *nāṭṭu-mudime* which is best translated into English as 'headmanship over the *nāḍu*'.⁴ The Vaḍḍarse inscription⁵ of Āḷuvarasa I (c. A.D. 650-680) refers to the *nāṭṭu-mudime* of Guṇḍaṇṇarasa. Further down in the same record is mentioned Pāḍuvalīya-nāḍu which was, probably, the same as the *nāḍu* under Guṇḍaṇṇarasa's headmanship. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the name Pāḍuvalīya-nāḍu reminds us of Hāḍuvallī-rājya, comprising parts of the North and South Kanara Districts, which came under the sway of a minor family of Jaina chieftains during Vijayanagara times. However, Pāḍuvalīya-nāḍu was the region around Vaḍḍarse in the Udupi Taluk while Hāḍuvallī-rājya was much to its north and comprised portions of the Coondapur Taluk and North Kanara District.

The Kigga inscription⁶ of Āḷuvarasa I refers to Kunda-varmarasa's *nāṭṭu-mudime*, the *nāḍu* in this case obviously standing for the region around Kigga, the findspot of the inscription. The Udiyāvara inscriptions of Prithvisāgara⁷ (c. A.D. 810-40) and Māramma⁸ (c. A.D. 840-70) speak of similar offices held, during their reigns, by Bōygavarma and Arakella respectively. The *nāḍu* of these records was apparently represented by the region around Udiyāvara itself.

The Vaḍḍarse inscription leads us to the belief that the *nāḍu* was further split into smaller divisions. The inscription, after referring to Guṇḍaṇṇarasa's *nāṭṭu-mudime*, states that Sattigāri

³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 327 and 328.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 21, footnote 3.

⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 296.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 38.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 21, No. VI and plate.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23, No. VIII and plate.

was holding the *mudime* of Banna or Banne. It may be gathered from this that Sattigāri was an officer under Guṇḍaṇṇarasa and that Banna or Banne was a subdivision of Pāḍuvaliya-nāḍu.

Surprisingly enough, the offices of *nāṭṭu-mudime* and *mudime* cease to occur in inscriptions after the reign of Māramma. Inscriptions assignable to this period are so scarce that it is difficult to explain away this development. It may, however, be suggested that, during this period, the office of *nāṭṭu-mudime* was replaced by the establishment of minor feudatory principalities. This suggestion gains support from the Bantra inscription⁹ of the time of Māramma which refers to Nṛipamallarāja, Viḷarittaliy-arasa and a ruler of the Katambha-varṇśa. These appear to have been minor chieftains ruling over tiny principalities within the Āḷupa kingdom. Again, the Bārakūru inscriptions of Baṅkidēva I claim for the ruler suzerainty over 120 *maṇḍalikas* and *mahāmaṇḍalikas*. This may be safely interpreted to mean that a number of minor chieftains in South Kanara were serving as the subordinates of Baṅkidēva I.

During the period of the early Āḷupas, populous townships were designated *nagara* or *nakara*, *pura* and *paṭṭana*. The capital city itself is mentioned as Udeyapura-nagara or Udeyapura-nakara. Koḷala-nakara, which is the same as Koḷala-giri, was another town. The city of Mangalore is referred to as Maṅgalapura-mahānagara in the Vēḷvikkūḍi copper-plate grant¹⁰ of Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ and as Maṅgalapura in the Māruṭūru grant¹¹ of Vikramāditya I. Some of the early Āḷupa inscriptions refer to the *padinenṭu-paṭṭana*. This name, when judged with reference to the context in which it occurs in one of the Udiyāvvara inscriptions of Māramma¹², appears to refer to administrative bodies belonging to eighteen (*padinenṭu*) cities. The cities were placed under the administration of

⁹ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 351.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 301 and plate.

¹¹ *Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological series*, No. 6, p. 37 and plate.

¹² See above, p. 85 and footnote 107.

officers who had the designation of *nāyaka*. One of the Udiyāvāra inscriptions of Prithvīsāgara¹³ refers to Udayapura-nāyga i.e. the *nāyaka* of Udayapura, the capital city of the Ālupas. Another inscription¹⁴ from the same place and belonging to the reign of Māramma refers to one Karasī-nāyga (= *nāyaka*) as the administrator of Koḷala-nakara.

Very little is revealed by available inscriptions of the early Ālupas on how the rural areas of the kingdom were administered in their days. The Kigga inscription¹⁵ of Chitravāhana I mentions one Nāgaṇṇa as the *adhikāri* of Kiḷḷa. The Bantra inscription refers to some of the witnesses to the agreement as *perggaḍegaḷu*. From the context in which they occur in the records, it may be concluded that *adhikari* and *perggaḍe* were designations of village officials. The Bantra inscription also provides interesting testimony to the role played by common men in the administrative field. While recording a compact of peace and friendship between local chieftains, it mentions the physician of Sādanūr (*Sādanūrā marudagaḷ*), those who arrange for services like playing instrumental music in the temple (*vōlagada-pāḷiyavaru*), and a number of other individuals as witnesses.

The administrative system of the early Ālupas finds no elucidation in their inscriptions. Being a small territory, the king personally led his forces in times of war. The contents of all the hero-stone inscription of the early Ālupa period imply that the battles ensued when the armies were led in person by the contending princes in order to gain entry into or retain hold over the capital city. The inscriptions make no reference whatever to the designation of the leaders of the armies other than the king. The common soldier was known merely as *āḷu* or as *bhaṭa*. The early Ālupa rulers were wont to recognise and reward meritorious service rendered by their soldiers on battle fields. While a number of hero-stones

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 21, No. VI and plate.

¹⁴ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 283.

¹⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 37.

record the valiant death of those who fought and fell for one or the other rival prince, a few record the compensation awarded in memory of the deceased hero by his grateful master. Raṇasāgara's Udiyāvara inscription,¹⁶ which mentions his battle against Maygēṣa, actually uses the word *pariyara* (= Skt. *parihāra*, compensation) in describing the nature of such a grant.

Though epigraphical information on their military administration is scanty, the early Ālupas must have had ample opportunities to develop the art of warfare to a high degree. The eulogy showered upon the military skills of Chitravāhana I by the Shiggaon plates¹⁷ of Vijayāditya and the prolonged period of civil war in which the Ālupas found themselves in the eighth and ninth centuries bear witness to this view. Chitravāhana II could not have given moments of anxiety to the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa forces at Pergguṇji, as averred by the Māvaḷi inscription¹⁸ of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, before being defeated and beaten back, unless the Ālupas had developed a high standard of military administration.

References in early Ālupa inscriptions to the military strategies adopted by the contending forces are few and far between. Nor do elephants, horses and chariots find frequent references. The lone instance in which the chariot is mentioned with reference to the Tuḷu country is found in the Vēlvikkudī copper plate grant of Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ which claims for the Pāṇḍya invader victory over the great charioteers (*mahārathar*) at Maṅgalapura. During the earlier but uncertain period of Tuḷuva history, great armies of charioteers from Tuḷu-nāḍu reduced, according to the poets of the Saṅgam age, the very heights of the Western Ghats on their way to subdue the recalcitrant chieftain of Mōgūr.¹⁹

¹⁶ *SII.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 392.

¹⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 322 and plate. The epithets *sakala-lōka-vidita-mahāprabhāva* and *sva-karatāla-vidhṛita-niśīta-nistṛimśa-saṁghāta-vitrasta-viśīryamāṇ-ānēka-riṇu-nṛipati-matta-mātāmga saṁghāta* applied to Chitravāhana I by this charter attest to his great skill as a warrior.

¹⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.

¹⁹ *Aganāṇūru*, Agams 251 and 281.

So also an indication for the employment of steeds in battles is to be found in the description of a soldier, in the Udiyāvara inscription of Raṇasāgara and Maygēśa, as *ērāḷi* i.e., one who is an expert in mounting and riding (horses). Again the Māvaḷi inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III refers to the great tussle that ensued in the battle of Pergguñji between the imperial cavalry and the cavaliers of Āḷupa Chitravāhana II. The army of foot-soldiers is named in one of the Udiyāvara hero-stone inscriptions as *padati*.

The strategy of arranging the armies for battles had reached much perfection under the early Āḷupas. The Māvaḷi inscription refers to the right and left flanks of the Āḷupa forces. One of the Udiyāvara hero-stones praises the deceased hero as an expert in breaking the *Chakravyūha* (*sāhasad-ari-Chakravyūhaman-oḍevon*).²⁰ Among the arms used in warfare, the arrow (*ambu*), sword (*vāl*, *nistrinśa*) and shield (*palage*) find mention in the early inscriptions.

Citizens of various professions and pursuits organising themselves into representative groups, a common feature in the Tuḷu country from the time of the medieval Āḷupas, had made a beginning even during the period of the early Āḷupas. The guild known as the *padineṇṭu-paṭṭana* has been referred to above. Being a predominantly agricultural territory, the tillers formed themselves into organisations from early times. The Udiyāvara inscription²¹ of Āḷuvarasa II refers to the guild of seventy tenancies of Udayapura (*Udayapura-nakarada eḷpatt-okkalu*). The same record also contains a reference to the Thousand of Sivāḷi (*Sivāḷiya sāsirbbbar*) who probably constituted the *mahājana* body.

Land was owned by the crown as well as by the citizens. The reference to Āḍakappa who was holding the right of cultivation over the fields at Voḍḍarse, in the Vaḍḍarse inscription of Āḷuvarasa I, immediately after mentioning administrative officers, leads us to believe that the fields in question were crown lands.

²⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 17-18, No. I and plate.

²¹ *SH.*, Vol. VII, No. 279.

Naturally enough, taxes on land and water were the main sources of income for the royal treasury. Big townships like Udayapura, Koḷala-nagara and Pombuchcha also yielded revenues. The taxes on land and water are referred to as *jala-duḷam sthaladuḷam suṅka* (i.e. taxes on water and land) in one Udiyāvara inscription²² of Māramma. The early inscriptions show that agricultural products were subject to taxation. By taxes on water is apparently meant tolls collected from marine and river trades.

Regarding administration of justice under the early Āḷupas, their inscriptions provide no information. The Kigga inscription of Āḷuvarasa I merely refers to *dēva-daṇḍa* (divine retribution) and *rāja-daṇḍa* (punishment by the ruler) in its imprecatory passages.

Information regarding administrative practices is found in greater detail in the inscriptions of the medieval and later Āḷupas. While all the records of the early Āḷupas refer to their reigns merely as *rājya*,²³ the inscriptions of the medieval and later Āḷupas also use the more familiar terms of *vijaya-rājya* and *ekachchhatrādhirājya*. With the exception of Āḷuvarasa I, Chitravāhana I and Māramma, the early Āḷupas received no other titles and epithets except the honorific *śrī* and *śrīmatu*. Āḷuvarasa I receives the title of *Mahārāja* in the Māruṭūru grant while Chitravāhana I receives the same title in the Sorab grant²⁴ of Chalukya Vinayāditya. Māramma is endowd in his inscriptions with the sovereign epithet of *paramēśvara* and the rather unusual title of *Adhirājarāja*. The medieval and later Āḷupas, on the other hand, were distinguished by a string of sovereign titles and epithets including the imperial ones of *Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. The lofty

²² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 21, No. VI and plate.

²³ The only exceptions to this statement are found in one of the Udiyāvara inscriptions and in the Bantra inscription, both discussed in Chapter III, wherein the word *prithvī-rājya* is applied to the reign of Māramma and of the unnamed Katambha ruler respectively.

²⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff.

title of *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī* became, with the medieval and later Āḷupas, a dynastic distinction.

Like the early inscriptions, the records of the medieval and later Āḷupas also do not delineate the functions of a king. These inscriptions, registering grants made or agreements entered into, almost invariably state that the ruler was personally present in the audience hall, along with his officials, at the time the transactions were registered. At the head of the official hierarchy were the ministers who were known as *prādhāna*. The council of ministers present in the audience hall was referred to as *samasta-* (or *sakala-*) *pradhānaru*. It is not known if the number of ministers was fixed by convention or was left to be decided by the ruler concerned though the Kachchūru inscription²⁵ of Ballamahādēvi, belonging to A.D. 1288, refers to the council of ministers as *pañcha-pradhānaru* i.e. five ministers. The designation *mahā-pradhāna*, which was apparently applied to the chief of the council of ministers, also finds mention in a few medieval and later records of the Āḷupas.

Another set of officials who were present in the royal audience hall are referred to as *dēśi-purusharu*. *Dēśi* means 'guiding', 'instructing' and *dēśika* means 'spiritual teacher'. Thus *dēśi-purusharu* of these inscriptions may be taken to mean spiritual personages who guided the rulers in matters of administration. The conventional seventy two departments of the palace house-hold are also mentioned in these inscriptions as the *bāhattara-niyōgas*. Among the others who are stated as present during royal audience are the court-priests (*purōhitaru*) and sages (*rishiyaru*).

Besides these officials, princes and princesses of the royal family took active part in the administration of the kingdom. During the latter years of the reign of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva-Āḷupēndra (A.D. 1250-75), his queen Ballamahādēvi, who later herself reigned as queen (A.D. 1275-92), is stated to be present in the audience hall along with the king and his officials. Prince (*kumāra*) Udayādityarasa is mentioned in the Udiyāvara

²⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 257.

inscription²⁶ (A.D. 1114-15) of Kavi-Āḷupendra. The Kōṭakēri inscription²⁷ of A.D. 1155 and the damaged Kadiri inscription,²⁸ both of the same ruler, refer to Pāṇḍyamahādēvi's rule over the village of Pannirppalli. Kulaśekhara I (A.D. 1160-1220) is stated, in his Mangalore inscription²⁹ of A.D. 1204, to have entrusted the administration of Mugaru-nāḍu to his nephew Baṅkidēva. In A.D. 1254, when Virapāṇḍyadēva-Āḷupendra was reigning, and again in A.D. 1281, when his queen Ballamahādēvi was on the Āḷupa throne, the former's nephew Baṅkidēva, who later himself reigned from A.D. 1285 to 1315, was present, along with the council of ministers, in the royal audience hall.

Among the officials of lesser status than those who figure in the records as attending the ruler's court were the *adhikāri* (or *atikāri*), *oḍeya*, *grāmaṇi*, *sēnabōva*, *ūrāḷuva*, *heggaḍe*, *haḍapa*, *śrīkaraṇa*, *sāhaṇi* and *bēhāri*. The respective functions of these officers are only rarely referred to in the available inscriptions.

Of these, the *adhikāri* (or *atikāri*) was the administrator of the kingdom's divisions known as *nāḍu*. One Lokkiyaḍaha was serving as the *adhikāri* of Bayidūra-nāḍu in A.D. 1324 under Sōyidēva (A.D. 1315-1335). Later Āḷupa records reveal that the term *adhikāri* (*atikāri*) had come to be used as a surname by those who held that rank and office. The *adhikāris* are also mentioned with reference to the collection of taxes and as village administrators.

The head of a village appears to have borne the designation of *oḍeya*. The *oḍeya* of Puttigeya-grāma is mentioned in an inscription³⁰ of A.D. 1267 from Puttige, Udipi Taluk. A Bārakūru inscription³¹ of A.D. 1315 refers to the *oḍeyas* of Aidūru and other villages.

²⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 290.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 376.

²⁸ *ARIE.*, 1964-65, App. B, No. 438.

²⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 185.

³⁰ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 500.

³¹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 354.

The functions of the *grāmaṇi*³² do not find elucidation in any of the available records. As the very designation suggests, the *grāmaṇi* was concerned with village administration. Along with the king (*arasu*) and minister (*pradhāna*), the *grāmaṇi* figures in a number of inscriptions as the protector of the grants made in his village.

The *sēnabōva*, from the contexts in which this office is mentioned, may be interpreted as the village clerk. Many records end with the statement that they were written by the *sēnabōva*. The Mangalore inscription (A.D. 1204) of Kulaśēkhara I lays down that the *sēnabōva* should maintain a written record of the daily services in the temple of Baṅkēśvara. The administration of a grant made by the king was, in some cases, entrusted to the care of the *sēnabōva*. Like the designation *adhikāri*, the term *sēnabōva* also appears frequently in later Āḷupa inscriptions in the position of a surname.

The office of *Urāḷuva* (*ūr*=village; *āl*=administer) stands for the administrator or ruler of a given village. The word itself is of rare occurrence in the inscriptions of the Āḷupas. The office of *heggade* was the counterpart of the earlier office of *mudime* i.e. village headmanship. The exact significance of the term is brought home by such usages as *Biḷiyūra heggade* found in medieval Āḷupa inscriptions. It is also found written as *verggade* and had come to be taken as a surname.

Haḍapa designated the servant who prepared and furnished betel leaves with their ingredients. The term *haḍapa* also means a barber.

The *śrīkaraṇa* was the royal scribe who wrote down official records and maintained them. The Kōṭēśvara inscription³³ of A.D. 1261 of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva-Āḷupēndra states that it was written by *śrīkaraṇada Māchaiya-sēnabōva*.

³² The office of *grāmaṇi* is of much antiquity and was of importance even during the Vēdic period. See *The Vēdic Age*, p. 431.

³³ *SHI.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 395.

Sāhaṇi (= Sanskrit: *Sāadhanika*) stands for the tender of war horses. We have seen above that the damaged Udiyāvara inscription³⁴ (A.D. 1058) of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāya-Sāntaradēva refers to the *daṇḍa-sāhaṇi* i.e. an officer who tends war horses. Later inscriptions repeat the word *sāhaṇi* many times but mostly as a surname.

Bēhāri is the Kannaḍa form for Sanskrit *vyavahārin* = trader or merchant. As it is, the term *bēhāri* may have designated officers who looked after the interests of the ruling house in matters of trade.

The kingdom was divided into divisions called, as in earlier times, the *nāḍu*. The region around Baindūru in Coondapur Taluk, was known as Bayindūra-nāḍu. Mugaru-nāḍu was another division, around Maṅgaḷūru. Besides, small regions were under the administration of feudatory rulers. One such was *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sēvyagellarasa who was ruling over two tracts called Pūmjaḷke and Chālūḷke (comprising portions of the Karkala and Mangalore Taluks respectively) in A.D. 1118-19 when Kavi-Āḷupa was on the throne.

Guilds and associations find frequent references in the inscriptions of this period. In some records the whole village (*ūravaru*, *grāma*), in which the grant registered therein was made, is stated to be a party to the grant. Inscriptions which record the amount of tax assessed against a given village declare that the order was passed for the whole village (*ūravarige* or *grāma-davarige koṭṭa śāsana*). So also, some inscriptions declare that the grant recorded was to be protected, among others, by the whole village.

Villages had the advantage of representative bodies in the field of administration. We have already noticed the 1000 of Śivalli (*Śivalliya-sāsiravaru*) figuring in the Udiyāvara inscription of Āḷuvarasa II. The inscriptions of the medieval and later Āḷupas refer to the 'thousand' of Handāḍi and Kōṭa, the 'three hundred' of Niruvāra and Kuḍikūru and the 'one hundred and two' of Brahmavara and Śivapura. The *mahājanas* of Brahma-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 278.

vura, referred to in the Brahmāvara inscription³⁵ (A.D. 1254) of the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva-Ālupēndra, appear to be the same as the 'One hundred and two' of Brahmavara. The basis and principles on which these bodies were formed are not known from the available inscriptions of South Kanara. They appear as donors, donees, protectors of grants and as assessors of taxes to be paid by their villages.

Populous trade-centres like Bārakūru, Basarūru and Mūḍa-bidure had their trade or merchant guilds called *nakhara* (or *nagara*, *nakara*, *samasta-nakhara*, *nagara-samūha* etc.), *seṭṭikāra* and the *hañjamāna*, also referred to as the *nakhara-hañjamāna*. Of these, *nakhara*, which is to be derived from Sanskrit *nagara*, is to be understood in the sense of 'merchant community' or 'guild of merchants' or 'a mercantile town'. The word *nagara* also occurs in these senses in Tamil inscriptions.³⁶

Seṭṭikāra also stands for the same term as given above and the name is derived from the word *seṭṭi* meaning a merchant or trader. Though the exact differences which marked the two groups of *nakhara* and *seṭṭikāra* are not known, in view of the explanation of *hañjamāna*, offered below, it may be suggested here that while *seṭṭikāra* was the association of native merchants who dealt in indigenous commodities, the *nakhara* was the guild of native merchants who were concerned with overseas trade.

The origin of *hañjamāna* has been convincingly traced to the Avestic *hañjamāna* and Persian *anjuman* and taken to mean the settlement of the Parsees.³⁷ Dr. D. C. Sircar, the eminent epigraphist and historian, however, feels that there is little possibility of the reference to *hañjamāna* in South Kanara inscriptions being to Parsee settlements in that district and that, therefore, *hañjamāna* should be understood in the sense of *pañcha-varṇa* of the lexicons, the same as Tamil *Añjuvaṇṇam* (Sanskrit: *Pañcha-varṇa*) meaning the five artisan classes viz., the goldsmiths,

³⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 509.

³⁶ T. N. Subrahmaniam: *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part II, Glossary, p. xli.

³⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 173-76.

black-smiths, brasiers, carpenters and stone-masons.³⁸ This five-fold expansion, which holds good for *Añjuvaṇṇam*, is not found so explained in any available record for the term *hañjamāna*. On the other hand, the Avestic and Persian origin for *hañjamāna* stands vindicated by the fact that "the Arabian Sea, a vast expanse separating the two peninsulas of India and Arabia and bounded on the north by the barren coast-line of Persia, is one of the vital seas of the world. As a result of the seasonal monsoon it has been for at least 3000 years a great highway of commerce and intercourse. The Indians and the Phoenicians, the Arabs—in fact all the seafaring nations of the East—have considered this to be the chief area of navigation".³⁹

"The excavations at Arikamedu have clearly proved..... that the people of the south were in close commercial relations with the Mediterranean people, that long before the time of the Romans their ships had sailed up to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, that intimate commercial and cultural contacts existed between them and the people of Western Asia and Egypt."⁴⁰

The above historical facts suggest the possibility of Arabic and Persian merchant settlements in the coastal kingdom of the Ālupas. It is significant that during the Vijayanagara period, when the empire had to import, of necessity, war horses from Arabia and such other lands, the inscriptions of South Kanara make frequent references to the *hañjamāna* and *nakhara-hañjamāna* guilds. In this context, we may refer to the *hañjamāna-mukhya* (i.e. chief of the *hañjamāna*), by name Ummara-marakāla, who figures prominently in the Kaikiṇi inscription⁴¹ (A.D. 1427) of the reign of Dēvarāya I and his feudatory Saṅgirāya of Nagire as an adversary of the imperial governor Timmaṇṇa-Oḍeya. Ummara is the same as Umar, a persian proper name and *marakāla* means a sailor. This fact lends good support to the view that *hañjamāna* was the guild of Arabic and Persian mer-

³⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 291-92.

³⁹ K. M. Panikkar: *Geographical Factors in Indian History*, p. 59.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴¹ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 48.

chants settled along the west coast.⁴² The *nakharas* in the Ālupa kingdom appear to have been of a religious bent as is shown by temples for Śiva built by them and hence named Nakharēśvara. One such temple was built in the important trade town of Basarūru.

The medieval and later Ālupa inscriptions contain frequent references to *eraḍu-kōla-baḷi* as present in the royal audience hall and the Pādebeṭṭu inscription⁴³ of A.D. 1324-25 of the reign of Vīra Sōyidēva-Ālupēndra refers to the *halaru* of *hattu-kōla-baḷi*. *Kōlu* means, among other things, 'an arrow' and 'a kind of military exercise.'⁴⁴ *Baḷi* means, among other things, 'race', 'lineage', 'company' etc. *Kōla-baḷi* may, therefore, be interpreted to mean the military divisions or companies. The prefixes *eraḍu* (two) and *hattu* (ten) may either stand for the number of regiments or denote the number of army leaders who formed themselves into a council and were present in the audience hall. The association of *kōla-baḷi* to a military organisation is further supported by expressions such as *taṇṇa samasta eraḍu-kōla-baḷi vīra-parivāra saḥavāgi daṇḍetti hōdalli* occurring in some hero-stone inscriptions of the Nagire and Hāḍuvaḷḷi rulers.⁴⁵

The medieval and later Ālupa inscriptions contain very little information on the administration of justice. The imprecatory passages of many records of this period show that excommunication was one of the most widely prevalent modes of punishment. For the same crime punishments differed in their severity and application in accordance with the caste to which the offender

⁴² For further support, see Sheikh Zein-ud-deen who, in his *Toh fut-ul-Majahideen*, p. 5 (Translation by Lt. M. J. Rowlandson, London, 1883), says "A company of Moslems having emigrated to certain ports of Malabar, and subsequently there taken up their dwelling, the population by degrees became proselytes to the religion of God (Islam)". I owe this reference to Dr. G. S. Dikshit.

⁴³ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 374.

⁴⁴ Kittel: *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 46, 47, Vol. III, part I, No. 8.

belonged. Thus, the Mangalore inscription⁴⁶ (A.D. 1204) of the reign of Kulaśēkhara I, for instance, states that if a *brāhmaṇa* should choose to flout the grant registered therein, he will be expelled from the four castes (*nālku-jāṭiyim poragu*); that if a *seṭṭi* (person belonging to the trading community) should commit the offence, he will be expelled from the merchant caste (*sarvasya-balaṇṇadiṁ poragu*); if the grant should be flouted by the agriculturists, they will pay a fine of 1000 *honnu* per head (*vokkalu-makkaḷu māḍidaḍe ondu tale sāvira honnu*).

The administrative changes introduced by the Hoysaḷas are not reflected in their inscriptions from South Kanara. Vīra Ballāḷa III was represented at Bārakūru by his queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi who, in all probability, was an Āḷupa princess. She was aided in administration by Vaijappa-daṇṇāyaka, Ajaṇṇa-sāhaṇi and Hariyappa-daṇṇāyaka whose tenure in office is referred to in the inscriptions as their *pradhānike*. Indigenous organisations like the *nakhara*, *nakhara-haṇṇamāna* and the *seṭṭikāras* were associated with the Hoysaḷa administration as in the case of the medieval and later Āḷupas. Among village committees, the '14 of Nīru-vāra' are mentioned in the Nīlāvara inscription⁴⁷ (A.D. 1333) of Vīra Ballāḷa III.

For the first time, the Hoysaḷa inscriptions from South Kanara mention the *seṭṭikāras* in specific numbers, a feature which becomes more common in Vijayanagara inscriptions from the region. The 'three *seṭṭikāras* of *mūrukeri*', a quarters in Bārakūru as also the 'eight *seṭṭis*' of Bidure (i.e. Mūḍabidure) appear in the records of the Hoysaḷa period.

From the inscriptions of the Hoysaḷas, we also come to know of a few organisations which find no mention in the available records of the earlier periods. One such is the *nāḍu* which apparently stands for an administrative body of representatives drawn from a given district. The Hiriyaṅgaḍi inscription⁴⁸ (A.D. 1334) of Lōkanāthadēva, the feudatory of Ballāḷa III,

⁴⁶ *SIL.*, Vol. VII, No. 185.

⁴⁷ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 492.

⁴⁸ *SIL.*, Vol. VII, No. 247.

refers to the *nāḍu* and *nakara* of Kārkaḷa while the Mūḍabidure inscription⁴⁹ (A.D. 1342) of Ballaḷa III refers to the *nāḍu* and *nakara* of Bidureya-nagara. The same record also mentions the *halaru* of Kārkaḷa and the *Ubhaya-nānādēśigaḷu*. Of these, *halaru* which means 'the many' served as the common word for any association. We have seen above reference to the *halaru* of the *hattu-kōla baḷi*. The *halaru* guild may be generally considered to have been made up of persons belonging to different professions. An inscription from Basarūru,⁵⁰ of A.D. 1433, for example, refers to one Duhanaseṭṭi as the *hūvinakāra* (i.e. cultivator and seller of flowers) belonging to the *halaru* guild of *mūrukēri*, a quarters of Basarūru.

"The *nānādēśis*..... were powerful autonomous corporations of merchants whose activities apparently took little or no account of political boundaries".⁵¹ As the very name implies, they conducted trade activities in all countries. The prefix *ubhaya* may be understood in the normal sense of two, the inscriptions, in all probability, referring to two *nānādēśi* guilds. It has been suggested elsewhere⁵² that *ubhaya* is to be taken as denoting local (*svadēśi*) and foreign (*paradēśi*) merchant communities.

The Mūḍabidure inscription mentioned above refers to *sālikeya aṛuvaru ballāḷugaḷu* and *aivaru horahinavaru*. *Sālike*, according to Kittel,⁵³ means 'business in a room or shop'. The meaning of *ballāḷugaḷu* with reference to *sālike* is difficult to make out. The term *ballāḷu* actually means 'a man who is able, skilled, erudite' or 'a man who knows'. We have seen in chapter VI that the Sujēru inscription⁵⁴ of A.D. 1528, while recording a compact between Tuḷuvarasa-Chauṭa and Vīra Narasiṁha Baṅga, prohibits the capture by either of the parties of the *ballāḷu*-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 213.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 444.

⁵¹ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Coḷas*, p. 597.

⁵² *Hyderabad Archaeological series*, No. 13, Glossary, p. 211.

⁵³ Kittel: *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁵⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 336.

gaḷu belonging to the other. In view of this it may be suggested here that *sālikeya ballāḷugaḷu*, mentioned as six in number, were members of a guild of businessmen, who were considered as citizens of importance.

The reference to the five *horahinavaru* must be read with reference to *sālike* (i.e. as *sālikeya aivaru horahinavaru*). *Horahinavaru* means outsiders and, from the context of their reference, it may be understood that they were connected with *sālike* but hailed from outside Tuḷuva. It may be that they secured, for the *ballāḷu* traders, commodities from outside the Tuḷu country.

Ballāḷa III's inscription of A.D. 1336, from *mūḍakēri* in Bārakūru, mentions the *nūṛa-aivattu* (=150) *eḷame* while his Mūḍabidure inscription of A.D. 1342 refers to *nālvaru* (=4) *eḷamegaḷu*. *Eḷame* finds frequent reference in Vijayanagara records from South Kanara and is, more often than not, associated with the number 150. Kittel⁵⁵ equates *eḷasu* with Kannaḍa *eṇe* (Tamil *iṇai*) meaning union, connection, fellowship, equality etc. *Eḷame* may thus be understood to stand for an association of people, though the exact nature of its composition and functions finds no elucidation in the available records. That *eḷame* was indeed a guild or an association with its own binding regulations is attested to by the reference, in many Vijayanagara inscriptions from South Kanara, to its members as *eḷamege oḷagā-davaru* i.e. those who were bound by or included in the *eḷame*. The figures 150, 4 etc., appear to pertain to different guilds with the common name of *eḷame*.

When the empire of Vijayanagara extended its power over South Kanara in A.D. 1345 it did not enter the region as its sole master. For almost three years, during A.D. 1345-48, Bārakūru was the seat of three powers, those of the ancient Ālupas, the decaying Hoysaḷas and the growing empire. In A.D. 1348, the Hoysaḷa power made its exit, but the Ālupas continued their compromised existence until the end of the 14th century. From then on, the authority of Vijayanagara held good for most of the

⁵⁵ Kittel: *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, s.v.

Tuḷu country. While it becomes evident from available inscriptions of the period that the new imperial administrators fostered and freely associated themselves with the existing administrative institutions, there was one important shift in the region's political set up in that the Tuḷuvas, for the first time in their long history, came to be ruled, not directly by the king, but by his representatives.

Right from the time of its entry into the empire, the Tuḷu country was divided into two administrative units called Bārakūru-rājya and Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, with the cities of Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru for their respective headquarters. The two rājyas were generally placed under the jurisdiction of two governors who were appointed from time to time and for varying lengths of terms. Frequently enough, however, both the rājyas were brought under the rule of one governor. The authority who made these appointments was either the emperor himself (*mahārāyara nirūpadim*) or an imperial officer (*daṇḍanāyakara nirūpadim* etc.) or both (*mahārāyara daṇḍanāyakara nirūpadim* etc.) The imperial officers who were thus empowered to appoint the governors held high positions and were designated *Mahāpradhāna* and/or *daṇḍanāyaka*. The authority which some of these imperial officers exercised over the whole empire is expressed in terms such as *samasta-rājyavanu pārupatyava māḍuva kāladaḷu*, *samasta-rājyavaṁ pratiṭpālisuva kāladaḷli*, *samasta-rāṇuveya pārupatyavaṁ chittaisi*, *samasta-rāṇeyagaḷanu pratiṭpālisutt-iralu*, etc. Perumāḷadēva-daṇṇāyaka, among them, is actually stated to be ruling over the empire along with the emperor Dēvarāya I (*Dēvarāya-mahārāyaru Perumāḷadēva-daṇṇāyaka-ru Vijayanagariya neleviḍinal-iddu..... rājyaṁ-geyiva kāladaḷu ā Rāyara daṇṇāyakara nirūpadim*⁵⁶ etc.). Some of these officers were important enough to have had ministers (*pradhāni*) under them.

In some cases governorship was initially conferred on an imperial officer who, in his turn, appointed a man of his own choice to administer the territory. An interesting instance at hand is the case of Ratnappa-Oḍeya who, when Kṛishṇadēvarāya

⁵⁶ *III.*, Vol. VII, No. 378.

conferred the Bārakūru-rājya on him, made his own son, Vijayappa-Oḍeya, governor of the province.⁵⁷

Some of the governors of the earlier days themselves bore the epithet of *Mahāpradhāna* and even had ministers designated *prādhani* to assist them in administration. The lists of governors for the successive reigns, given in Chapter VI above, show that the same person was, often enough, reappointed to the post after an interval, sometimes more than twice. For instance, Mallappa-Oḍeya served as governor of the Bārakūru-rājya on five different occasions, during A.D. 1512-20; Ratnappa-Oḍeya and his son Vijayappa-Oḍeya frequently alternated in the office of the governor for the same *rājya*. The lone instance of a Muslim being appointed to the post is met with when, in A.D. 1551, during the reign of Sadāśivarāya, Ekadhāla-khān was serving as the governor of Bārakūru-rājya.

The governors were changed at the will of their superiors, without any regard for duration. We may, in this regard, contrast the long tenures of service in this office of Maleyadannāyaka (A.D. 1345-65), Śaṅkaradēva-Oḍeya (A.D. 1408-20) and Viṭharasa-Oḍeya (A.D. 1465-78) with the short periods during which the other known governors held the office. In a few cases, the governor of one *rājya* was transferred as governor of the other *rājya*. To cite only one instance, Basavaṇṇa-Oḍeya, who served as governor of the Bārakūru-rājya during A.D. 1400-03, was, for a short while, transferred as governor of Maṅgaḷūru-rājya during A.D. 1403-04, before being brought back to his post at Bārakūru.⁵⁷

The lists of governors given in Chapter VI also show that the same governor was, often enough, entrusted with the administration of both the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas*. This was obviously done for administrative convenience until, in A.D. 1515, when Kṛishṇadēvarāya was on the throne, the very practice of appointing governors for the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya was discontinued. Again, from the time of Achyutarāya onwards, the entire Tuḷu country came to be bestowed as a fief on the members

⁵⁷ See Chapter VI above.

of the Keḷadi ruling house and was, invariably, known as the Tuḷu-rājya. The Keḷadi rulers appointed their own governors who, from their headquarters at Bārakūru, administered the entire district of South Kanara.

Even during the period of Vijayanagara authority over South Kanara, considerable parts of the district were under the sway of a number of local ruling families most of them Jaina by religious faith. The most powerful among them were the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family, which not only ruled over the region around Kārakaḷa but also ruled over the Kaḷasa region in the Chikmagalur District, the Nagire ruling house, which ruled over parts of the South and North Kanara districts from its headquarters at Geresoppe and the ruling house of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya which also comprised parts of the South and North Kanara districts. In the Maṅgaḷūru region, which abounded in tiny principalities, there were the Baṅgas, Chauṭas, the Madda-heggaḍes, the Kinnika-heggaḍes, the Ajilas, the Nāḷinas and the Sāmantas. Some of the inscriptions of these chieftains refer themselves to the reigns of Vijayanagara emperors while the rest omit all references to imperial authority, showing thereby the degree of independence which these local rulers were allowed to enjoy. This is further proved by the fact that imperial interference in the affairs and mutual feuds of those petty rulers are only very rarely recorded in the available inscriptions. We have noticed in Chapter VI above the fact that the Baṅga, Chauṭa and Ajila chieftains even assisted the imperial governor in carrying out his responsibilities.

During the Vijayanagara period, the territory of South Kanara provided the interesting sight of a country divided into parts on more than one basis, the various parts overlapping each other. Thus, as we have shown above, for purposes of imperial administration, the region was divided in two, the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas*. Then there were the feudal principalities like the Hāḍuvaḷḷi, Nagire and Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa *rājyas* which were situated within and also beyond the bounds of the above two *rājyas*. Besides, the region was also divided into a number of

subdivisions known as the *nāḍu*. Vijayanagara epigraphs contain references to Paḍuvakōṇa-nāḍu, Bayidūra-nāḍu, Udayaṅgala-nāḍu, Tiḷugāḍiya-nāḍu, Kaḍaba-nāḍu, Nālvatta-nāḍu, Hāru-nāḍu, Muṅgi-nāḍu, Vaṇḍalakeya-nāḍu, Kāntārada-nāḍu, Kabu-nāḍu, Khāṇḍe-nāḍu and Bandampalli-nāḍu.

The governor was at the top of the administrative hierarchy. He was assisted by a council of ministers who had the designation of *pradhāni*. *Adhikāri* was an office held by persons at different levels. We thus hear of *nāḍa-adhikāri* (i.e. the *adhikāri* of a district), *Bārakūra-adhikāri*, *Bidureya-sthaḷada-adhikāri* etc. (i.e. the *adhikāri* of a city) and *grāmada-adhikāri* (i.e. the *adhikāri* of a village).

Of the other offices already discussed, *oḍeya*, *grāmaṇi*, *sēna-bōva*, *ūrāḷuva*, *heggade*, *śrīkaraṇa* (also as *karaṇa* and *karaṇika*) and *bēhāri* continue to be referred to in Vijayanagara inscriptions. While these offices were generally concerned with village administration, that of the *sēnabōva* was of different categories. We thus meet with references to *nāḍa-sēnabōva*, *sthaḷada-sēnabōva* and, of course, the village *sēnabōva*. An official designated *sēnabōva* also served in the various guilds and was, perhaps, entrusted with the task of maintaining their records. An inscription⁵⁸ of A.D. 1472 from Basarūru, for instance, refers to one Śaṅkara-sēnabōva as *paḍuvakēriya halaru-seṭṭikāṇara sēnabōva*. The village headman was also known as *nāyaka*.

References also occur in inscriptions of this period to *appaṇē-kāra* (= *ājñāpti*, executor of grants), *aṭhavaṇe* (tax collector), *ōleya-kāra* (messenger) and *madhyastha* (arbitrator, mediator or Judge).

Internal and international trades in South Kanara received a fillip during the Vijayanagara period. This is amply illustrated by the frequent references, in important contexts, to the trade-guilds of the region. In particular, trade guilds in important townships, such as Bārakūru, Basarūru, Maṅgaḷūru, Mūḍabidure and Vēṇūru, rose in importance and their activities and jurisdiction came to govern many aspects of the citizens' lives.

The interests of the traders bringing their commodities from outside for sale in South Kanara were well protected by agree-

⁵⁸ *SHI.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 464.

ments entered into by local traders. Thus, the Bārakūru inscription⁵⁹ (A.D. 1430) of the reign of Dēvarāya II, recording an agreement between the trading communities of *mūrukēri* and *chauḷikēri* of Bārakūru, contains a clause reserving a particular place (*thāvu*) for the foreign merchants (*paradēśi-bevahārigaḷu*) to store the loads of sugar they bring from beyond the Ghats (*Ghaṭṭada mēlaninda*).

Bārakūru was not only a busy trading centre but was also the headquarters of the governor of the Bārakūru-rājya and was, therefore, the largest city in South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period. The city was divided into a number of quarters called *kēri* of which records of the period contain frequent references to *mūru-kēri*, *chauḷiya-kēri*, *maṇigāra-kēri*, *hattu-kēri*, *kōṭa-kēri* and *paḍuva-kēri*. Each *kēri* had its own trade-guilds called *seṭṭikāṛa*, *nakhara* and *nakhara-haṇḍamāna*. We learn from the inscriptions that the *seṭṭikāṛa* guild was made up of three members (*mūvaru*) in the case of *mūru-kēri*, *chauḷiya-kēri* and *maṇigāra-kēri*, of four members (*nālvaru*) in the case of *kōṭa-kēri* and of sixteen members (*hadināru-mandi*) in the case of *hattu-kēri*.

Basarūru, also an important trade-centre, was also divided into *kēris* of which the *paḍuvakēri* and *mūḍakēri* are referred to in the available records. They too had their own trade guilds of the above description. Mūḍabidure, referred to in the records as Bidireya-nagara and Vaṁśa-pura, had an eight member *seṭṭikāṛa* guild. Veṇūru had a *seṭṭikāṛa* guild of sixteen members. Besides these, other important townships such as Maṅgaḷūru, Kārakaḷa and Baindūru also had these trade guilds. The *nakhara* and *nakhara-haṇḍamāna* are mentioned with reference to Bārakūru and Basarūru. The *Ballāḷugaḷu* and the *horahinavaru* organisations, referred to above, continue to make their appearance in Vijayanagara records also but only less frequently.

We learn from inscriptions that these guilds as such and also their members as individuals owned lands. While the *nakhara* guilds generally owed allegiance to Śaivism, built a number of tempels dedicated to Nakharēśvara and made numer-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 340.

ous grants for their maintenance, the *seṭṭikāra* guilds generally belonged to the Jaina faith, built or renovated many of the Jaina *bastis* and made grants for their maintenance. These guilds figure, even as in the earlier periods, as donors, donees, administrators and protectors of grants and as arbitrators in disputes between the state and the people and between themselves.

Representative bodies such as the *nāḍu*, *halaru* (also referred to as the *samasta-halaru*) and the *eḷame* (also referred to as *eḷamegaḷ-oḷagādavaru* and *eḷameg-oḷagādavaru*) figure in the records of the Vijayanagara period. The *eḷames* are mentioned as 150 in number for the *mūṛukēri* and *maṇigārakēri* and as 770 in number for the *hattukēri* of Bārakūr, as 4 in number for Mūḍabidure and as 4 and 360 in number for Vēṇūr.

Other representative bodies already heard of, such as *nāḍu*, *ūru* and *grāma* figure in the records of this period. Besides these, frequent references occur also to the corporation of cultivators, *okkalu* (usually accompanied by various numerical distinctions) and to the *jagattu* and *janani* or *janni*. Of the last two, *jagattu* appears to have been an organisation of a general nature. The word *janana* occurs in South Kanara inscriptions in the sense of landed property. *Janani* or *janni* may, therefore, stand for a guild of landlords. As in the case of *okkalu*, the *jagattu* and *janani* also are invariably mentioned in association with different numerical figures for different villages.

Members of the traders' guilds and of the assemblies of ordinary citizens appear to have been chosen on merit. Many inscriptions vouchsafe to the high calibre of the men who were included in such organisations. For instance, an inscription⁶⁰ from Mūḍabidure eulogises the members of the *seṭṭikāra* guild and the *samasta-halaru* of Bidure as well-versed in the Sciences, as builders and renovators of new and old Chaityas and as embellished by all noble qualities. In another inscription⁶¹ from the same place, the *mahājanas* of that town receive such lofty epithets as

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 196.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, No. 202.

para-purushārtha-kārigaḷ, dānaśīlar, gurujana-bhaktar, kavi-jana-stutar, parama-dayāparar, parahita-charaṇar, Jina-mārga -dīpakar, etc.

These trade and citizens' guilds and the various officials, mentioned above, were together referred to, in the field of administration, as the *kaṭṭaḷeyavaru* or *samasta-kaṭṭaḷeyavaru*. They helped the imperial governor of the *rājya* to which they belonged in matters of administration. We have seen above that, according to the Udipi inscription⁶² of A.D. 1437, the *samasta-kaṭṭaḷeyavaru* of the *hattukēri* of Bārakūru had acted as the arbitrators in a serious dispute between the imperial governor Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya and the residents of Śivaḷḷi.

During Vijayanagara administration, these organisations rose to great power, wealth and influence. An inscription⁶³ from Yermāl, Udipi Taluk, actually refers to the 1000 warriors (*sāviraḷu*) of the *samasta-halaru*. From this, it may be concluded that these guilds had their own armed followers whose duty was to protect the interests of their respective guilds. A further attestation to their power is furnished by the Kaikiṇi inscription⁶⁴ of A.D. 1427 from which we learn that the *nakhara-haṇjamāna* was powerful enough to challenge the authority of the governor and thereby invite an attack by the imperial forces.

The importance of these organisations and the sanction accorded to them by local traditions were clearly understood and conceded by the imperial authorities. The Bārakūru inscription⁶⁵ (A.D. 1405) of the reign of Bukka II informs us that the emperor restored to the *samasta-halaru*, including the *nakhara-haṇjamāna* of the *hattukēri* of Bārakūru, all their rights and privileges and their conventional status, which had earlier been taken away from them by the imperial governor Mahābaḷadēva for reasons not stated in the record.

Details regarding military administration in South Kanara during this period are only rarely met with in inscriptions. We

⁶² *Ibid.*, No. 296.

⁶³ *ARSIE.*, 1927-28, No. 395.

⁶⁴ *Karnāṭak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 48.

⁶⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 349.

have seen above that a number of governors themselves had the title of *daṇḍanāyaka*. In all military expeditions within the region, imperial forces were led in person by the governor himself. So also, the local rulers were personally at the head of their armies in times of war.

It is very likely that standing armies of the empire were stationed in South Kanara. These forces, while they were strong enough to maintain the empire's hold on South Kanara, do not appear to have been strong enough to meet serious challenges. We learn from the Kaḷasa inscription⁶⁶ of A.D. 1516, of the reign of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chief Immaḍi Bhairarasa, that an act of insubordination on his part necessitated the invasion of the Tuḷu country by the imperial forces led in person by the great Kṛishṇadēvarāya himself.

The Sujēru inscription⁶⁷ of A.D. 1528, recording a compact between the Chauṭa and Baṅga chieftains, makes a reference to their armies and to the army and cavalry of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa ruler. From this, it may be concluded that while major chieftains of the region maintained their own mounted troops, the minor rulers could not afford the same.

The armed forces of the local rulers appear to have been made up of soldiers recruited not only from Tuḷuva but also from the adjacent tracts. Thus the Hiriyaṅgaḍi (Karkala Taluk) inscription⁶⁸ of A.D. 1598 refers to the 5000 soldiers of the *kōlabali* and the 5000 soldiers of Malaha (i.e. Malabar, the northern parts of Kerala State, south of the Chandragiri river). Though this inscription, by virtue of its late date, falls outside the scope of this work, it may be pointed out that its contents reveal the interesting fact that these standing armies had become a source of trouble and apprehension for their masters.

The port-city of Mangalore was the headquarters of an imperial official called *nāvigada-prabhu* (i.e. 'Lord of Ships').

⁶⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 41.

⁶⁷ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 336.

⁶⁸ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 245.

It is not possible to say if this officer was the head of a naval fleet or was merely the chief of merchant ships.⁶⁹

The modes of administering justice are not expressly elucidated in records from this region. While for the earlier period no references whatever to the modes of punishment occur in inscriptions, with the exception of conventional curses upon the destroyers of grants, the medieval records show that the system of imposing fines was a popular mode of punishment. Some records of the medieval Ālupas, while prescribing the amount of money any erring individual will have to pay as fine to some temple, do not fail to pronounce curses upon and prescribe such punishments even to the ruler, should he also err.⁷⁰

Another form of punishment was to expel the culprit from the four castes thereby depriving him of the privileges enjoyed by the rest of the society under this classification.

Capital punishments are nowhere referred to and penalties imposed even for serious crimes were of a mild nature. In A.D. 1347, when Maleya-daṇṇāyaka was governing Bārakūru-rājya, Gōvinda and Kṛishṇa were obliged to make certain grants to the deity Trimūrti for allegedly murdering a *brāhmaṇa*.⁷¹ In A.D. 1444, some members of the *nakhara* guild of Basarūru were involved in the murder of Tiruma-ḥaḍavaḷa and Bomma-seṭṭi. The *seṭṭikāra* guild of the *paḍuvakēri* of Basarūru enquired into the case and passed a judgement to the effect that the *nakhara* should expiate their sin by making certain gifts of gold to the god Mahā-dēva of the Nakharēśvara temple. It is interesting to note that the *seṭṭikāra* guilds personally supervised the implementation of their judgement.⁷²

In matters of disputes between imperial authority and the local rulers, between the local rulers themselves and between the guilds and other organisations, arbitration as a means of

⁶⁹ See *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 467. See also B. A. Saletore: *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, pp. 58 and 72.

⁷⁰ See, for instance, *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 185.

⁷¹ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. B, No. 621.

⁷² *SII.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 450.

obtaining justice was frequently resorted to. We have seen above that, when, in A.D. 1436, the imperial governor Anṇappa-Oḍeya had invaded and laid waste the village of Śivalli (Udipi Taluk) the *kaṭṭaḷeyavaru* of the *hattukēri* of Bārakūru used their good offices to re-establish peace in that village.⁷³ We have also seen above that in A.D. 1528 Kṛishṇānanda-Oḍeya and his disciple Vēdānanda-Oḍeya acted as arbitrators in bringing about a political compact between the Chauṭa and Baṅga chieftains.⁷⁴ It was customary for the local rulers to sign such agreements in the presence of a non-aligned chieftain to whom they could appeal whenever the terms of such pacts were in jeopardy.

In A.D. 1430, a dispute arose at Bārakūru between the *aivaru-halaru* of *chauḷiyakēri* and the *mūvaru-seṭṭikāṇṇaru* and the *samasta-halaru* of *mūrukēri* regarding sugar trade. The dispute became serious enough to result in disturbances. Finally, Chaṇḍarasa-Oḍeya, the then governor of Bārakūru-rājya, was made to act as the arbitrator and an agreement defining the rights of the two *kēris* in sugar trade was drafted and duly signed.⁷⁵

When, in A.D. 1455, a dispute arose between the *seṭṭikāra* guilds of *paḍuvakēri* and *mūḍakēri* at Basarūru, the disputants assembled at the temple of Viṣṇumūrti at Chiruligunḍa, accepted the priests of the four *maṭhas* of Basarūru and the village assembly of Kandāvura-grāma as arbitrators, and arrived at an agreement regarding the boundaries and the rights of their respective localities and guilds and the paths through which the *seṭṭikāras* of each locality had to take sheep and areca-nuts to the temple of Dēvi on occasions of festivals.⁷⁶

Disputes between individuals are not referred to in the available records. But it may be reasonably supposed that,

⁷³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 296.

⁷⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 336.

⁷⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 340. This record is discussed in greater detail in Chapter VIII below.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 457.

when such disputes arose, they were enquired into by the official *madhyastha* (i.e. arbitrator). The system of expiating a crime committed by making grants to temples, however serious the crime may have been, was in wide practice. Such an act of expiation is referred to in the records as *prāyaśchitta*.

It may be pointed out, in conclusion, that for the period immediately following the fall of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1565, the administrative set up discussed above held good in almost all respects. Whatever minor changes were effected by the Keladi overlords after A.D. 1565 fall beyond the scope of this work.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The most remarkable factor which distinguishes South Kanara from the other parts of Dravidian South India is the region's native dialect of Tuḷu which, being one of the five major languages of the Dravidian stock, has been characterised as one of the most highly developed languages of that family.¹ In the absence of written literature of any kind, it is not possible to measure the antiquity of this language though it follows from statements made in Chapter I above that the language must have developed its own linguistic peculiarities subsequent to the migration of a part of the early Dravidian populace into South Kanara during the iron age. It also follows from Chapter I that the name Tuḷu, as applied to the region, also came to signify its inhabitants and their dialect.

Nothing has been brought to light regarding any aspect of the life led by the proto-historic men in the Tuḷu country. Nor is much known about life in the Tuḷuva prior to the advent of the early Ālupas. During the early centuries of the Christian era, when Tuḷuva was inhabited by the Kōśar and again when it came under the sway of Naṇṇaṇ, facts which are gleaned from the Saṅgam literature and which have been discussed in detail in Chapter II, the Tuḷuvas appear to have led a very active and martial life. From *Agam* 15 of *Aganāṇūru* we learn that the Kōśar were wont to adorn their bodies lavishly with jewels. As for the economic conditions which prevailed during those early days, absolutely nothing is known.

With the appearance of the Vaḍḍarse² inscription in the

¹ Caldwell: *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (II edn.), p. 35.

² *ARSIE*, 1931-32, No. 296.

middle of the 7th century, the Tulu country emerges from historical darkness. From this inscription we come to know that the people of South Kanara were subject to a ruler whose name was Āḷuvarasa and whose dynastic name, as gleaned from successive records, was Āḷuva or Āḷupa. By the middle of the 7th century, the Aryan classification of society into four castes had come to govern human society in that region. For, the Vaḍḍarse inscription records a grant of money for feeding 17 *brāhmaṇas*. Though legendary accounts as given in the *Sahyādrī-kāṇḍa* and the *Grāmapaddhati* attribute the import of *brāhmaṇas* into South Kanara to the Kadamba ruler Mayūravarma of the middle of the 4th century A.D., the Vaḍḍarse record contains the earliest recorded reference to the *brāhmaṇas* and also vouchsafes for the high and revered position which they enjoyed with the rulers and the people. The *brāhmaṇas* lived in their own *agrahāras* in every village and the Udiyāvara inscription³ of Raṇasāgara (c.A.D. 765-805) considers the destruction of the *brahmapura* (i.e. brahmins' quarters) of Śivaḷḷi as a *mahāpātaka*.

Individual bravery as displayed in battlefields was held in great respect and the rulers were wont to commemorate the heroic death of their warriors and even to make compensatory grants for the benefit of the dependents of the deceased. The Kariyaṅgaḷa inscription⁴ of Raṇasāgara employs the word *pariyara* (Skt. *parihāra* = compensation) in this context. While military solutions to differences were often sought, the path of peace and peaceful settlements were not ignored. The Bantra inscription,⁵ already discussed, records one such compact for ending enmity, vengeance and warfare entered into by four chieftains of the 9th century.

The head of the family was much respected at the family level even as the king was acknowledged as their master by the citizens. In many of the early inscriptions, donees as well as

³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 284.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 392.

⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1930-31, No. 351.

deceased heroes are mentioned with their father's names prefixed to their own.⁶

The natural beauty of the coastal district had elicited the praise of poets even in early days. Māmūlanār, one of the poets whose songs have found their way into the anthology *Aganāṇūru*, in one of his poems sings that in the forests of Tuḷunāḍu, the peacock, with spots like the side of a drum, pecked at the well-grown, magnificent, green jack-fruit hanging from its tuft-like stem.⁷ The author of the Vēlvikkūḍi copper plate grant⁸ of Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ (A.D. 756-815) describes Maṅgalapura (i.e. Mangalore) as the great city where the peacock danced with the cuckoo near tanks perfumed with opening flowers. From this record we can also conclude that as early as in the 7th-8th centuries, the Tuḷu country had made great strides in the economic field and that Mangalore was even in those times a flourishing and populous township well-known to be called a *mahā-nagara* (great city) in the record of an imperial dynasty.

Inevitably enough, from early times, South Kanara was a predominantly agricultural country. Landed properties were, therefore, aptly termed, as is revealed by medieval and later inscriptions from that region, as *bālu* which signifies life and subsistence. It is not surprising, therefore, that the economic life of the people and their rulers centred round the incomes derived from agricultural products, especially so during the early and medieval times. Agriculturists, consequently, formed an important section of the citizenry and this is attested to by one⁹ of the Udiyāvāra inscriptions of Māramma *alias* Āḷuvarasa IV in which six agriculturists (*okkalu*) figure as the donees for a royal grant.

From early times, lands were owned by the royalty as well as by private citizens. The right of cultivating royal lands was

⁶ See, for e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 17-23, Nos. I, II, III, IV, VI and VIII.

⁷ *Aganāṇūru*, *Agam* 15.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 301 and 307.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 23, No. VIII and plate.

held by officials serving under the king as is evidenced by the Vaḍḍarse inscription, according to which one Āḍakappa was holding the cultivation rights over the lands in Vaḍḍarse. Gifting of royal lands to temples and *brāhmaṇas*, to private citizens of the agricultural class as also to deceased warriors was in vogue under the early Āḷupas.

Under the early Āḷupas, commerce was conducted generally though the barter system. The royal treasury received tax amounts in kind. Taxation in kind on such agricultural products as paddy (*nel*), rice (*akki*), pepper (*veḷasu*, *meḷasu*), cotton (*paḷti*) and areca-nuts (*aḍake*) is referred to in early inscriptions¹⁰ from the region. Apart from these taxes on land articles (*sthaḷa-suṅka*), tolls were levied on articles on water (*jala-suṅka*).¹¹ By this it may be understood that fishing and also the marine and riparian trades were subjected to taxation.

Of the weights and measures which were in vogue during the early Āḷupa period, one of the Udiyāvara inscriptions of Māramma mentions the following: ¹²

- saṅkura*: It has been suggested that this may be the same as *saṅkara* in which case the word may stand for 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock.'
- puṭṭige*: same as *puṭṭi* meaning 'a basket'.
- maḷave*: It has been suggested that this may be another form of *maṇa* or *maṇavu*, 'a maund.'
- pala*: a particular weight.
- pēru*: a (head-) load.

Of these, though *saṅkura*, *puṭṭige* and *pēru*, as understood above, are general terms denoting containers in the first two, and an unspecified quantity in the last, cases, since they are mentioned in the record in the context of taxation, they may be taken to

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22, No. VII and plate; *SHI.*, Vol. VII, No. 284.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21, No. VI.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 22, No. VII.

have denoted, in the days, a standard quantity fixed by convention or by decree.

Information on the coinage under the early Āḷupas is only next to nothing. The Vaḍḍarse inscription registers a gift of 17 *kañchu* and 1 *kiḷ-gañchu* for feeding 17 *brāhmaṇas*. *Kañchu* in Kannaḍa means 'white copper' or 'brass' or 'bell-metal'.¹³ *Kañchu* and *kiḷ-gañchu*, therefore, appear to be the names for a higher and lower denomination respectively of coins struck from *kañchu*. But for the fact that Draviḍian *ḷ* was in common use in Kannaḍa language and writing at this period, it would have been reasonable to suggest a relationship between *kañchu* and *kaḷaṇchu*, the latter word standing for the name as well as the weight of a gold coin in circulation in the Tamil country from early times. It may be pointed out here that the Mallam inscription¹⁴ of Pallava Nandivarman II, in which the Āḷupa ruler Āḷuvarasa II (A.D. 730-65) figures as his feudatory, mentions this gold coin called *kaḷaṇchu*.

Some of the Udiyāvara inscriptions¹⁵ refer to the tolls on the cities of Udiyāvara and Paṭṭi (i.e. Pombuchcha) which reminds one of the many medieval Āḷupa inscriptions which contain references to collective (*samudāya*) taxes levied on and collected from villages.

The records of the medieval and later Āḷupas contain more information on the social life of Tuluva. We learn from most inscriptions of this period that the ruler was surrounded by much pomp and pageantry. The ruler was present in person in the audience hall (*moga-sāle*) of the palace at the time of making royal proclamations and grants and, on all such occasions, the official hierarchy led by the council of ministers (*samasta-pradhānas*) and including the *bāhattara-niyogis* and *dēśi-purushas* stood in attendance upon the king or queen, as the case may be. The festive atmosphere which marked the presence of the ruler in the audience hall is found expressed in medieval Āḷupa records

¹³ Kittel: *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, s.v.

¹⁴ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 429-30 and plate.

¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 21 ff., Nos. VI-VIII; *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 284.

by the phrase *samasta-gondal* = *āsthāna*. The principal cities of Tuluva during this period, Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru, appear to have had more than one palace each as is implied by the expression *hiriya-aramane* i.e. the big or old palace. The audience hall in the palace at Mangalore was known by the lofty name of *Bhuvanāśraya* (i.e. the refuge of the world).¹⁶

The throne was not merely the centre of pomp and grandeur but the ruler was on the same footing as the lowliest of his citizens in matters of protecting social and religious obligations and in preserving age old customs. A few inscriptions, while pronouncing curses and fines upon those who flout the grants recorded therein, also include the ruler in their wake (eg. *intivellavaṁ vichārisi rakshisadiddaḍe arasimge Gaṅge-Rāmēśvaradalu sāvira kavile sāvira brāhmaṇaram konda pāpa*).¹⁷

The priestly class and the *brāhmaṇas* were much respected by the rulers and the people. Many medieval records include the *purōhitas* in the list of officials present in the royal audience hall. The high position held by the *brāhmaṇas* in the social structure of the Tulu country as elsewhere is illustrated by such expressions as *sāvira brāhmaṇaram konda dōsha*, *sāvira-brāhmaṇaram rakshisida punya* etc., occurring in the imprecatory passages of medieval inscriptions.

Caste system had taken deep roots and the four principal castes are referred to in the records of the period as *nālku-jāti*. Excommunication became an effective deterrent to the flouting of religious grants. Besides the four principal castes, the lowest stratum of society consisted of untouchables, referred to as *horahinavaru*, and those who had been punished with excommunication and expulsion from the *nālku-jāti*.

Each family was a closely knit unit of the social structure and it was customary for men, as in the earlier period, to associate their names with the names of their elders and predecessors. An important instance at hand is the Keñjūru inscription¹⁸ of

¹⁶ See, for eg., *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 185.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸ *ARSIE*, 1931-32, No. 336.

A.D. 1281, of the reign of Ballamahādēvi, mentioning prince Baṅkidēva as belonging to the lineage of Dattāḷva (*Dattāḷvara-baḷiya* Baṅkidēva).

The inscriptions of the medieval period vouchsafe to the increase in the number of temples, a fact dealt with in detail in chapter IX below. Discourses were arranged in these temples and this afforded the people an avenue for entertainment as well as enlightenment. The Mangalore inscription¹⁹ of Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1160-1220) prescribes a fine of 5-1/2 *honnu* (gold coins) as fine to be paid by the temple official *adhyaksha* if he should fail to arrange for the daily discourses (*dina dina naḍeva kathāmāle*) in the temple of Baṅkēśvara. An additional source of entertainment for the people was the daily dancing performances by the *kūtāḍuva-bākanangeyaru* (female dancers).¹⁹

The inscriptions of the medieval and later Āḷupas furnish more information on the economic conditions which prevailed during their times. It is during this period that the word *bāḷu* came to be used as a synonym for landed property. While the barter system was continued both in the fields of commerce and taxation, money was also brought into wider circulation.

The names of weights and measures which are in popular usage now in South Kanara make their appearance in the inscriptions of this period. The extent of a cultivable land was defined with reference to the quantity of seed which could be sown in it (e.g., 60 *mūḍe bittuva bayalu* i.e. a field in which 60 *mūḍes* of seed could be sown). The names of the weights and measures for agricultural produces which appear in these inscriptions are

mūḍi, *mūḍe* or *mūḍe* = a weight of 3360 tolas; a measure of 42 seers and the extent of a land in which so much seed could be sown.²⁰

khaṇḍuga, *kaṇḍuga* = Land measure, dry measure and liquid measure; also weight. *Ikkhaṇḍuga*, *mūgaṇḍuga* and *nālgaṇḍuga*

¹⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 185.

²⁰ The equivalents for this and the other weights and measures listed above are taken from *A Kisamwar Glossary of Kanarese words*.

denote respectively twice, thrice and four times the quantity of a *kaṇḍuga*.

hāne = dry and liquid measures.

kuḍite = dry and liquid measures.

paḍi = dry measure.

māna = dry and liquid measures.

The following terms describing the nature of ownership of lands²¹ occur in the medieval and later Āḷupa inscriptions:—

gēni = land tenancy; the rent paid by the tenant to the land-lord.

mūḷiga = cultivator who has taken cultivable lands on permanent lease from their owner/s.

The following agricultural terms are found used in these inscriptions—

bede-kāru = wet land to be sown during the rainy season.

bede-gaṇagilu = land in which *gaṇagilu* (fragrant oleander) are to be sown and grown.

kaḷa-bhūmi = threshing floor.

Coins find frequent mention in the Āḷupa records of this period. Many types of *gadyāṇa* coins were in circulation. Of these, the coin known as *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa* is mentioned as early as in A.D. 1139 in the Kōṭakēri inscription²² of Kavi Āḷupēndra. *Pāṇḍya* being one of the dynastic names of the Āḷupas, *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa* obviously meant coins issued by them and may be deemed to have denoted, during the medieval period, gold coins a few specimens of which have been noticed so far. The coins in question²³ are of gold and are die-struck. The obverse of these coins depicts two fish under an umbrella-shaped canopy,

²¹ See P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, part II, pp. 365-69, for a detailed discussion of the question of ownership of land.

²² *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 381.

²³ *ARIE.*, 1961-62, App. E, Nos. 277 and 278; See also Brown: *The coins of India*, plate VII, No. 3.

with a lamp and *Chauri* to their right and left respectively. The reverse contains the legend *Śrī-Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* which is one of the characteristic epithets of the medieval and later Ālupas. The Ālupas had the *mīna-lāñchhana* for their emblem and the umbrella like canopy reminds us of the expression *ēka-chhatrādhirājya* used in medieval Ālupa inscriptions while introducing the ruler. *Bāra-kūra-gadyāṇa* and *Maṅgalūra-gadyāṇa* are also referred to in the inscriptions. These two names may have denoted coins issued from the royal mints at Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru, the two capital cities of the medieval Ālupas. It is likely that the name *gadyāṇa* was applied to coins struck from more than one metal, for the inscriptions, in some instances, specifically refer to the coin as *honna-gadyāṇa* i.e. gold *gadyāṇa*. Besides, the word *gadyāṇa* is itself found frequently mentioned without any distinguishing prefixes.

Besides these terms, gold coins were referred to by the word in Kannaḍa for gold, namely, *ponnu* or *honnu*. The word *paṇa* also occurs, though only rarely.

It is possible to arrive at a fairly authentic estimate of the economic conditions in which people of South Kanara found themselves during the medieval and later Ālupa times. The wealth of the people consisted mainly of land and land, therefore, was the main source of income for the royal treasury. The utter dependence of the people and the rulers on land-harvests is strikingly brought home by the Sujēru inscription²⁴ of A.D. 1305 of the reign of Baṅkidēva II. The kingdom was hit by drought in that year and the king took a vow to make grants to the god Timirēśvara if the rains returned. The king's prayer was answered and in August, in which month that inscription was engraved, grants of lands were accordingly made by the grateful ruler.

The large number and variety of taxes, levied in kind and in money, on lands, on agricultural products and on trades attest to the prosperity of the medieval and later Ālupa periods. Villages were liable to pay to the royal treasury taxes in money,

²⁴ ARSIE., 1930-31, No. 338.

referred to in the records as *samudaya* or *samudāya-gadyāṇa*. *Samudaya* or *samudāya* is to be understood in the sense of a collective or total contribution and, as such, is found used with reference to levies of more than one kind. Thus, while the Kōṭēśvara inscription²⁵ (A.D. 1261) of the reign of Vīrapāṇḍyadēva-Āḷupēndra fixes the amount of taxes to be paid by the villagers of Kuḍikūru at 180 *samudāya-gadyāṇas* per annum, the Nīlāvara inscription²⁶ (A.D. 1258) of the same ruler declares that the 'three hundred of Nīruvāra should pay 100, 30 and 301 *samudāya-gadyāṇas* per year respectively to the king, the *adhikāri* and the village of Nīruvāra. An inscription²⁷ of A.D. 1262 from Kundāpur, belonging to the same reign, fixes the *samudāya* tax to be paid annually by the village of Kundāpura at 140 *gadyāṇas*.

Land owners and cultivators paid part of their products into the royal treasury as tax. The quantum of this levy is nowhere specified in the available records. The Hānchalli inscription²⁸ of Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva-Āḷupēndra clearly states that the king made a gift of paddy which was due to the royal treasury from the *makki* lands of Brahmaura (*tamage bahantaha bideya bittavanu* etc.). Lands and their products yielded more than one kind of tax income for the treasury. Landlords were levied tax in money for their ownership and this tax was called *bhukti-samudāya*, *bhukti* standing for 'enjoyment' or 'possession'. Each piece of land under cultivation was subject to taxation (*bālu-teṛe*). Other land taxes mentioned in these inscriptions include *kattunderu*, *beḍugūla* (also found written as *beḍuṅgūla*, *beḍugūlu* and *beḍuṅgolu*), *mēlāya*, *āruvāra*, *bīdāruvāra* and *kuḷāgra* or *kuḷāḍya*.

Of these *kattunderu* appears to have meant land taxes assessed from time to time (*teṛu*=tax and *kattu*=assess or impose). The exact significance of *beḍugūla* is not known. The word is, no doubt, a compound of *beḍu* and *kuḷa*, the second meaning a farmer or

²⁵ *SHI.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 395.

²⁶ *ARSIE.*, 1928-28, No. 490.

²⁷ *SHI.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 396.

²⁸ *ARSIE.*, 1931-32, No. 241.

a land-tenant who pays taxes. The word *beḍu* is not found in any lexicon and if it could be equated with *beṭṭu* = a field lying on a higher level, imperfectly irrigated and depending on the rains, then *beḍuguḷa* may be taken to stand for taxation levied from farmers cultivating such lands. *Mēl-āya* (excess tax), as the very name indicates, may be interpreted as a surcharge on land taxes.

Āruvāra is the same as *āravāra* meaning land mortgage of an usufructuary nature. The references in inscriptions to *āruvāra* may be taken to stand for taxation on such mortgaged lands. *Bīḍu* = *bīḷu* means a land kept waste or uncultivated. *Bīḍāruvāra* may, therefore, be the taxation on such mortgaged lands which were cultivable but not cultivated.

It is difficult to conclude what *kuḷāgara* and *kuḷādyā* stood for. *Agra* and *ādyā* are synonyms meaning 'the beginning'. The terms, no doubt, denoted taxes paid by land tenants. They may have denoted the tax each cultivator was obliged to pay at the time of taking up a new tenancy.

The large number of inscriptions which have so far been discovered provide us with much information on the social and economic conditions which prevailed in South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period. While the district as a whole was divided into the Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru *rājyas* with the two cities of those names as the headquarters for the two imperial governors appointed from time to time, large chunks of the region fell under the sway of local chieftains. The presence of the ruler in the audience hall, referred to in many medieval Ālupa inscriptions, is no more referred to in the records of the governors and the local chieftains. Unlike in the earlier periods, when the loyalty of the entire populace was vested in one monarch, during the Vijayanagara period, people of the region living in different parts were subject to their respective local rulers. Their allegiance to the imperial governors was closely related to the allegiance of their own masters to the imperial authority.

Until the middle of the thirteenth century, there is no evi-

dence of the Tuḷuvas following any other system of succession but that of father to son. The ancient family of the Āḷupas never adopted the *āḷiya-santāna* (uncle to nephew) system of succession as long as they remained a power which mattered. Side by side with the introduction of Vijayanagara authority in South Kanara, a number of local ruling families, mostly Jaina in faith, made their appearance. These families generally followed the *āḷiya-santāna* system of succession and, naturally enough, this system came to be adopted by a good section of the populace, thus adding one more distinctive feature to the region.

Though the wide prevalence of this system of succession can be attributed only to the fourteenth century, the seeds of this are to be found in the undated Taḷaṅgere inscription²⁹ of the Āḷupa ruler Jayasimha I, discussed in Chapter IV. This inscription states that in the lineage of Jōgavve, who was probably the king's sister, the right of succession goes to the female children and not to the line of male children and that, only if there are no female children, the succession will devolve on the male issues. This system is, of course, different from the *āḷiya-santāna* system in so far as in the latter case the right of succession devolves upon the sister's son. Nevertheless, the Taḷaṅgere inscription serves as a prelude to the importance of females in the family which the *āḷiya-santāna* system clearly expostulates. It is also likely that the prevalence of this system of succession in parts of the neighbouring state of Kēraḷa influenced the adoption of the *āḷiya-santāna* system by the rulers and people of South Kanara. We have pointed out in Chapter IV above that Baṅkidēva II, the nephew (*āḷiya*) of Virapāṇḍyadēva, who is the only known *āḷiya* of an Āḷupa king to have sat on the throne, may have claimed the throne for himself on the strength of the *āḷiya-santāna* system of succession prevalent outside South Kanara and among the rising families of local chieftains within South Kanara itself.

The Mūḍabidure inscription³⁰ of A.D. 1430 helps us to take the earliest prevalence of the *āḷiya-santāna* system, as evi-

²⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 203-09 and plate.

³⁰ *III.*, Vol. VII, No. 202.

denced by epigraphical sources, to the middle of the thirteenth century. This inscription gives the genealogy of the Nagire dynasty for the seven generations, from Honna to Bhairava I and his younger brothers. The inscription clearly states that each successor was the nephew of his predecessor. Thus, roughly assigning a period of 25 years for each reign, we arrive at the middle of the thirteenth century as the most likely period for Honna.

Quite often, names of individuals are found mentioned in the records of this period in association with their family names as in *Tolāhara-baliya*°, *Chautāra-baliya*°, *Baṅgara-baliya*°, etc. Names of individuals also occur in the records in association with their ancestral houses (eg. *huṇise-maneya* Gōvinda, *kuyala-maneya* Kṛishṇa *hosa-maneya* Nāraṇa etc.) and land (eg. *kombettim-baliya* Ara-sakabbe).

Terms originally indicative of office such as *nāyaka*, *heggade*, *sēnabōva*, *adhikāri*, *daṇḍanāyaka*, etc., terms indicative of professions such as *setti*, *ballālu*, etc., and terms indicative of caste such as *bhaṭṭa*, *upādhyāya*, *setti*, *ālūva*, etc. are found very frequently appended to the proper names of individuals figuring in the records of this period. Members of the *settikāra* and *halaru* guilds are often found mentioned in association with the particular guild of a town or village to which they belonged.

Everything was done to render life in the cities and towns easy and to promote easy contacts between the various corners of the district during this period. Vijayanagara inscriptions from South Kanara abound in references to highways, roads, lands and foot-paths (*rāja-bīdi*, *bīdi*, *hiriya-heddāri*, *heddāri*, *naḍeva-ōṇi*, *ōṇi* etc.) For the social and economic history of South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period, the importance of the Basarūr inscription³¹ (A.D. 1455) of the reign of Mallikārjuna cannot be overstated. According to this record the *halaru* of the *mūḍakēri* of Basarūru were obliged to set apart from the lands which they owned, a stretch of land measuring 12 *kōlu* in breadth for purposes of laying a road for the use of local citizens as well as outsiders

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part II, No. 457.

(*sudēṣi-paradēṣigaḷu naḍava ubhaya-mārgga*). There is a further stipulation that in the matter of carrying offerings to the temple of Dēvi, the above road was to be utilised only by the *halaru* of the *mūḍakēri* and not by the *halaru* of *paḍuvakēri*. Again, according to the same record, the responsibility of relaying an old road of equal breadth in another part of Basarūru devolved upon the *halaru* of *paḍuvakēri*. We also learn from this record that on the sides of important roads, mango trees were grown, evidently for shade and shelter (*heddāriya sāla-māvu*).

The needs of the city dwellers were well looked after. The many Jaina chieftains who flourished during the Vijayanagara period in South Kanara initiated an architectural renaissance which resulted in the construction of a number of remarkable *bastis* in important Jaina centres. The Mūḍabidure inscription³² (A.D. 1430) of Dēvarāya describes the city of Mangalore as the abode of groups of beautiful damsels, with its rich markets dealing in gold etc., whose inhabitants were ever kept happy with plenty of paddy and other grains. The same record speaks of Mūḍabidure as a flourishing city surrounded by choice fields of paddy, sugar cane, etc., which apparently assured a steady source of food for the population. The same city was rendered more beautiful by numerous gardens and tanks; its well-laid roads were frequented by groups of charming damsels and the city abounded in merchants selling gold and precious stones, China silk (*Chīn=āmbara*) and bangles. Many poets, renowned for their literary achievements, lived in the city and its sky-high Jaina *bastis* were full of people of good character who were gathered to listen to discourses on Jainism.³³

Day to day life in the rural areas must have taxed the time and energy of the majority of the population mostly on lands. The agriculturists, however, were provided with many amenities which must have assured a steady yield of food crops. The Basarūru inscription of Mallikārjuna, already referred to, for instance, refers to the maintenance of more than one water

³² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 196.

³³ *Ibid.*, No. 202.

canal (*nīru-hariva ṭṇi*) and similiar references occur in many other records. These canals were obviously dug out to pave the flow of rain water along the cultivated fields.

We had seen above that during the early and medieval Ālupa period, the royal treasury and also the people depended mainly on agriculture for their economic prosperity. The Vijayanagara period saw the emergence of South Kanara as an important trade province and many cities and towns in the district developed into major trade centres with well-knit guilds and associations representing the interests of various trading groups. The large number, nature and importance of trade guilds such as *seṭṭikāra*, *nakhara*, *hañjamāna* and *ballālu* have been discussed in detail in Chapter VI above. These guilds, as also their members in their individual capacities, figure in epigraphs in many contexts, as arbitrators, donors, donees, as protectors of grants and even as disputants. The records amply illustrate the important role played by these guilds in the political, social, economic and religious history of the period.

While, on the agricultural front, South Kanara appears to have been self-sufficient, certain crops had to be imported from beyond the Ghats. Two Bārakūru inscriptions³⁴ (A.D. 1430) of the reign of Dēvarāya II, for instance, record an agreement between the trade guilds of *chauḷiyakēri* and *mūrukēri* of Bārakūru on sharing, for purposes of sales, the loads of rice (*akki*), wheat (*gōḍi*), Bengal gram (*kaḍale*), *Phaseolus mungo* (*uddu*), green gram (*hesaru*), *Sesamum indicum* (*eḷḷu*), sugar cane (*kabbu*), fenugreek (*mente*), ghee (*tuppa*), jaggery (*bella*) and certain other necessities imported from beyond the Ghats (*Ghaṭṭada mēlanindalu bahanthā°*). These records also prescribe regulations for the sale of sugar brought by local and foreign traders from above the Ghats. There is an interesting stipulation, meant obviously to maintain the balance in trade, that the merchants of the *chauḷiyakēri* and *mūrukēri* should collectively weigh and store the stock of sugar and that whatever quantity remained

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 309 and 340.

unsold should not be taken to *mūrukēri* by the merchants of that part of the city but should be retained in the store-house (*maḷige*) to be sold in times of demand. The right of selling cotton sarees (*nūlu-sīre*) was made the exclusive privilege of the merchants of *mūrukēri* by the agreement registered in these records.

The increase in trade must have resulted in general economic betterment and trade guilds and traders benefitted much from this development. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the Vijayanagara records from South Kanara, next to the imperial governors, merchants and their guilds rank as the most important donors of gifts of money and lands to the temples.

The system of land ownership and the rights of cultivation were much the same as in the earlier times during the Vijayanagara period also. Whole villages and the cultivable lands belonging to them were, in many cases owned by the State and are found referred to in inscriptions as *bhaṇḍāra-sthaḷa*, *aramaneya-bhaṇḍāra-sthaḷa*, *aramanege saluva bhaṇḍāra-sthaḷa* etc. Besides this, lands owned by temples and private citizens were differently designated with reference to their owners as, for instance, *dēvasva*, *purōhita-sthaḷa*, *brahmasva*, etc.

Land revenue continued to yield the bulk of the income for the State treasury. Many types of lands and land taxes, including the ones which were prevalent during the earlier period and discussed above, are found mentioned in the records of the period.

Types of lands :

āgara, *hiriy-āgara*, *uppin-āgara*: a salt-pan.³⁵

bayalu: a plain open field best suited for rice cultivation, lying low, having abundance of water and producing two or three crops of rice or two of rice and one of grain.

berikeya-bhūmi: various kinds of earth mixed together.

³⁵ A *Kisamiwar Glossary of Kanarese words* and Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary* have been consulted in arriving at the meanings given for this and other technical terms listed above.

beṭṭu: a field lying on a higher level than *bayalu*, imperfectly irrigated, depending for water sometimes on the rains and sometimes on a reservoir and producing but one crop.

bīla-gadde: waste, uncultivated land.

hadahu: a table-land, a plateau.

haḍalu: a waste rice-field, fallow land.

hakkalu: an elevated piece of ground covered with brush-wood; a piece of dry land irrigated by rain and used for raising vegetables on.

hola-gadde: land for wet and dry cultivation.

hāli: a plot of field.

kambāla-gadde: a field in which buffalo races take place.

karikeya-bayalu: a field covered with the Hurallee grass.

kuduru: an island formed in a river by alluvial deposit; an islet.

majalu: a field higher than *bayalu* but lower than *beṭṭu* in which a single crop of rice can be raised despite the deficiency in the periodical rains.

makki: the worst kind of land yielding one crop.

bidirāḍiya-, *huṇise-āḍiya*-, *teṅgin-āḍiya*-, *hoyimaṇṇa-makki*: *makki* land growing bamboo, tamarind trees, cocoa-nut trees and *makki* land covered with sandy soil respectively.

tāru-gadde: probably, dry land.

tiṭṭe: an elevated dry land.

Land owners and agricultural labourers:

mūla-kāra: the original proprietor or holder of a permanent lease obtained from the government, or his assignee. The terms *mūla-gadde* and *mūlada-bālu* are to be understood in this light.

gēṇi-kāra: he who has taken up land for cultivation on rent or contract.

vritti-kāra: he who is in enjoyment of a gift-land.

okkalu: tenants of the soil, professional agriculturists.

kīl-okkalu: this term probably denotes servants working on lands under the *okkalu*.

holeyālu, *heṇṇālu*: the lowest cadre of males and females working on lands. These were slaves who could be transferred with the land, at the time of the latter's sale or donation, to the new master.

Taxes:

ādi: this seems to be an abbreviation for *kuḷādyā* or *kuḷāgra*, explained above. The terms *mūladi* and *ardhādi*, found mentioned in the records of the period, may respectively denote such tax levied on land in possession of the original owner and one half of such tax amount.

āruvāra: this term has been explained above. *Antar-āruvāra* occurring in the records of the period seems to indicate interim taxation on mortgaged lands.

hoḍe-kaṭṭu: *hoḍe* means besides other things 'an ear of corn just before fully shooting forth'. *hoḍe-kaṭṭu* may, therefore, stand for a tax assessed and levied in between the stages of planting and harvest.

jōḍi: a half or quarter of the gross value of the produce paid as tax by a person reclaiming a certain portion of waste-land and settling on it.

kaḍḍāya: compulsory levy.

kaṭṭunderu, *kaṭṭu-teru*: this term has been explained above.

kuḷa: land tax paid by a cultivator. The amount of such tax to be paid, when duly assessed, is referred to in the records as *kuḷa-pramāṇa*. Inscriptions reveal that this tax was generally levied in cash and only rarely in kind. In the case of gift-lands, this tax was not levied (*kuḷava-kaḷachi* etc.)

kundu: this word means deficiency or fault and may, therefore, stand for a surcharge on the payment of tax arrears.

naṭṭu: this term is, probably, derived from *naḍu* meaning 'to plant' and hence may denote a tax levied on each young plant freshly planted. That such a levy was in

vogue is proved by passages such as *ā thāvilī sasiya naṭṭare sasige 4 haṇa geṇḍeḍe 1 honnu*.³⁶

sēse: (*tadbhava of śēsha*)—the word *śēsha* means surplus, reminder etc. *sēse*, therefore, appears to be a tax levied on surplus products which did not fall within the original assessment.

siddhāya: fixed assessment.

It is regretted that the above lists are not, by any means, exhaustive. I have not been able to interpret a few terms such as *hodiḱe*, *hadīḱe*, *osari* etc., which are found mentioned in the records along with the names of taxes explained above. Many other tax names have not been included because of the uncertainty in their reading owing to the damaged nature of the inscriptions.

Much advance was registered during the Vijayanagara period in the field of land administration. Land revenue was subject to reassessment from time to time and the sale and purchase of lands were governed by a number of rules and regulations prescribed by the imperial administration. The Coondapur inscription³⁷ (A.D. 1425) of the reign of Dēvarāya II, for instance, records that the imperial governor Narasiṁhadēva-Oḱeya, after making a thorough enquiry among the inhabitants of Kundāpura who had assembled at his call, restored a piece of land, originally gifted as a *purōhita-sthaḷa* and which had come to be misappropriated, to its old status and made a fresh assessment of the taxes to be levied on the land. This assessment was done without prejudice to the *siddhāya* tax to be paid to the royal treasury. Such assessments are referred to in the records of the period as *kuḷa-kattū* (*kuḷava-kattī*, etc.).

The boundaries of each piece of land, owned by the State, temples and private individuals, were demarcated in detail (*chatus-sīme*, *nālku-gaḱi*, i.e. the boundaries on the four quarters).

A few technical phrases indicating the nature of the sales and purchases of lands are met with in the inscriptions of the

³⁶ *SII*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 471.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 441.

period. The land purchased from its owner by a prospective donor is usually described by the phrase *artha-parichchhēdavāgi koṇḍu mūla-parichchhēdavāgi koṭṭadu* i.e. 'purchased by absolute payment and gifted with absolute rights'. Land gifts are also referred to as *mūla-kṛaya-dāna* indicating that such lands were absolutely paid for prior to their being given away as gifts. Another expression '*nāyaru-mūla*' occurs in the records of the period with reference to the purchase and donation of lands. This probably stands for the purchase of land along with 'the agricultural services including the right to use a plough'.³⁸ The prices paid in purchasing lands were the ones prevalent from time to time (*tat-kāl-ōchita mūlya*).³⁹

Besides the State, temples and individual citizens, organisations such as the *seṭṭikāra* and *halaru* guilds and the *mahājanas* also owned lands in their collective capacity. Many records of the period, while delineating the boundaries of lands, refer to the *gaḍi* or boundary of lands owned by such associations (*seṭṭikāra gaḍiyim°*, *chauliyakēriya halara gaḍiyim°*, *mahājanara gaḍiyim°*, etc.)

Those entrusted with lands gifted to temples were obliged to provide the specified quantities of land products to the deities irrespective of the failure of crops owing to failure of rains and drought (*bāna-gēḍu baṛa-gēḍu ennade*).⁴⁰

A number of weights and measures including the ones in vogue during the earlier period are found mentioned in the Vijayanagara inscriptions.

hāne, hāni: dry and liquid measures, prevalent in the South and North Kanara districts. *Yippāne*, *muṇvāne* and *nālvāne* denote, respectively, two, three and four *hānes*. The records also mention *nāḍa-hāne* and *kañchina-hāne*. The former, in all probability, denotes a standard of the measure locally prescribed while the latter refers to the measure made of bell-metal (*kañchu*).

³⁸ *A Kisanwar Glossary of Kanarese Words*, p. 94.

³⁹ *SII*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 609.

⁴⁰ See, for eg., *Ibid.*, No. 444.

mūḍe, muḍe, muḍi: this term has been explained above. Unlike in the earlier period, this term appears to have denoted more than one quantum of measure. *Nāḍa-mūḍe*, though of rare occurrence in the records, suggests that the quantity of a *mūḍe* was subject to local variations. Expressions such as *nāgaṇḍugada-mūḍe* also imply that it had come to be taken as a common term for dry measure. It is found often in its abridged forms of *mu°* and *mū°*.

khaṇḍuga, kaṇḍuga: this term also has been explained above. The *nāgaṇḍuga* of the earlier records is variously written in this period as *nāghaṁ, nālvaṇḍe, nāgaṇḍe* etc. It is found written in its abridged forms as *kaṁ°, khaṁ°, and ghaṁ°*.

hēru: a word applicable to weight and dry and liquid measures.

solagi, soḍagi: this seems to be the same as *solage*, a liquid measure, equal to one fourth of a *kuḍuva* or of a *baḷḷa*.

kuḍite, paḍi and *māna* have been explained above.

Specific scales for land measurement make their appearance in the records of this period. The Basarūru inscription of A.D. 1455, already discussed, for instance, mentions *kōlu*, a measuring rod (*mūru kōlu nela, hanneradu kōl-agalada pramāṇina hādi* etc.) The more common method of land measurement, however, continued to be based on the quantum of seed that could be sown on a given plot of field.

With the marked increase in commerce, money came into wider circulation. We have already pointed out above that, unlike in the earlier periods, taxes came to be generally paid in money. The most common types of coins in circulation were known as *gadyāṇa, varaha, honnu* and *haṇa*. Their types and different denominations, mentioned in the records, are as follows:

kāṭi-gadyāṇa: the meaning of the word *kāṭi* is not known.

ardha-kāṭi-gadyāṇa: coin having half the value of a *kāṭi-gadyāṇa*.

bāhira-gadyāṇa: this appears to denote foreign (*bāhira*) coins i.e. coins struck outside South Kanara and brought into circulation in the region.

saṃṇa-Pratāpa-gadyāṇa: a small *gadyāṇa* probably issued by the Vijayanagara rulers in view of the title *pratāpa*.

doḍḍa-varaha, *doḍḍa-varaha-gadyāṇa*: a higher denomination of *varaha*.

ghaṭṭi-varaha: this may denote a *varaha* with a high percentage of gold content.

In many instances *gadyāṇa* and *varaha* are found used to denote the same coin and are also found used together as *varaha-gadyāṇa*.

Honnu meaning gold was a common name for *gadyāṇa* and *varaha*. It also occurs frequently as *kāṭi-honnu*.

Hana, also mentioned in the records as *kāṭi-hana*, was a smaller denomination of *gadyāṇa* (cf. *varaha-gadyāṇa* 176 *hana* 341). The symbol for *hana*, as found in these records, is ₨ while the other coins are found mentioned in their abbreviated forms as follows: *ga°* (*gadyāṇa*); *kā ga°* (*kāṭi-gadyāṇa*); *va°* (*varaha*); *va ga°* (*varaha-gadyāṇa*) *bā ga°* (*bāhira-gadyāṇa*).

Bārakūru which, along with Mangalore, was one of the two headquarters of imperial governors, had its own mint from which coins were minted and issued. This fact is amply brought to light by such expressions as *Bārakūra parivarttanakke saluva kāṭi-gadyāṇa*, *Bārakūra parivarttanakke saluva doḍḍa-varaha-gadyāṇa*, *arddha-Bārakūra parivarttanakke saluva doḍḍa-varaha-gadyāṇa*. From the contexts in which these expressions occur, it may be safely concluded that they denoted coins brought into circulation in South Kanara from outside but which could be converted into coins issued from the Bārakūru mint.

The growth in commerce and the wide circulation of money must have resulted in the increase of borrowals between individuals. A common feature in the records of the period is the donation to temples of the interest amounts accruing from loans given by the lenders without any surety. Such a loan

secured without any mortgage is mentioned in the records as *mei-sāla*. It is interesting to note that interest for money given as loan was accepted in kind in some cases. An inscription⁴² from Basarūru, dated in A.D. 1450 in the reign of Mallikārjuna, states that the interest per annum over a sum of 200 *kāṭi-gadyāṇa*, taken as a loan (*kaḍa*) by the *seṭṭikāras* of *paḍuvakēri* from Kōṭiyakka-nāyakiti, was 13 *muḍi* of rice to be measured with the *nālvande*.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that while the wealth of the Tuḷu country and its people increased under the aegis of the imperial administration, there was a proportionate increase in acts of piety and munificence. Even as the State, the traders and the agriculturists became affluent, they parted with a portion of their earnings and acquisitions for the benefit of the temples and the *brāhmaṇas*. This must have kept up a healthy balance in the economic structure of the region by ensuring the steady flow of wealth and money from hand to hand.

⁴² *Ibid.*, No. 452.

CHAPTER NINE

RELIGIONS ¹

The religious history of South Kanara opens with the wide prevalence, as a State and public faith, of Śaivism. The Kigga inscriptions² of Āḷuvarasa I and his son Chitravāhana I record royal grants made to the god Śiva, named therein as Kilgāṇa-Īśvara and Kilgāṇadēva. The Sorab³ and Harihar⁴ copper plate grants of the Bādāmi Chalukya emperor Vinayāditya record grants made to devout Śaivite *brāhmaṇas* at the request of Chitravāhana I. The Mallam inscription⁵ of Pallava Nandivarman II records a grant, made at the request of Āḷuvarasa II, to god Subrahmaṇya. The god Sōmēśvara, housed in the now ruined rock-temple at Udiyāvara, is referred to in the Udiyāvara inscription⁶ of Raṇasāgara as Chambukalla-Bhaṭṭāraka, a name which has survived to this day. The Udiyāvara inscription⁷ of Āḷuvarasa II refers to this deity as Saṁbukalla-dēva. The Bhaṭṭāraka of this ancient temple was the patron deity of the early Āḷupas and the settlement around this region, referred to in the records as Śivaḷḷi and Śiva-vaḷḷi, formed the nucleus of religious life in early Tuluva. Śivaḷḷi was considered

¹ The above chapter on religious conditions is based only on information contained in inscriptions from South Kanara. For a detailed discussion on this subject, see Saletore: *History of Tuluva*, pp. 368-458.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 37 and 38.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff.

⁵ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 429-30 and plate.

⁶ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 284.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 279.

so sacred in those early days that some of the records⁸, in their imprecatory passages, declare that anyone who sought to destroy the grants recorded therein would have committed the sin of destroying Vārāṇasī and Śivalī. *Goravaru* i.e. Śaivite priests were held in high esteem by the early Ālupa rulers. The Udiyāvara inscription of Āluvarasa II states that the grant recorded therein was made in favour of the *Goravar*. They also find mention in one of the Udiyāvara inscriptions of Māramma *alias* Āluvarasa IV.⁹

The Śaivism of the early Ālupa period appears to have been influenced by the cult of Śiva as *Paśu-pati* i.e. 'the Lord of beasts'. We have shown above, in Chapter II, the possibility of *Alapa-gaṇa* Paśupati, of the Halmiḍi Kannaḍa inscription¹⁰ of about A.D. 450, being the earliest known Ālupa ruler. One of the Udiyāvara hero-stone inscriptions of the period of the civil war eulogises the deceased warrior as keen on annihilating those who were opposed to the Lord of the Pāśupata sect (*Pāśupata-nambirān*)¹¹ (which may be interpreted to mean either Śiva-Paśupati himself or the Ālupa ruler whom the hero served).

The Shiggaon plates¹² of Vijayāditya record grants made by the emperor, at the request of Chitravāhana I, to a Jaina temple built by Kumkumadēvī, the former's sister and the latter's queen, at Purigere-nagara. This town was situated in the Kadamba-maṇḍala which was at that time under Ālupa sway. Though this charter thus helps us to conclude that the early Ālupas were wont to observe religious tolerance, no evidence has been found so far to suggest the prevalence, in South Kanara itself, of any religious faith other than Śaivism in those early days.

We must discuss here the Kadiri inscription¹³ of Kunda-

⁸ See, for instance, *Ibid.*, No. 284; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 21 ff., Nos. VI, VII and VIII and plates.

⁹ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 283.

¹⁰ *ARMAD.*, 1936, pp. 72 ff. and plate.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 18, No. 11 and plate.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff. and plates.

¹³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 191.

varma. This important inscription is found engraved on the pedestal of an image which betrays predominantly Buddhist features of iconography. This, coupled with the presence in the same place of more Buddhist images, has led scholars¹⁴ to suppose that Buddhism had entered South Kanara before or during the reign of Kundavarma. It should, however, be noted that these Buddhist images are lone instances in the entire region. The inscription itself refers to the image as that of Lōkēśvara, a name which can be more convincingly attributed to Śiva than to Avalōkitēśvara of the Buddhist pantheon, especially in view of the occurrence of such names as Nakhareśvara and Baṅkēśvara for Śiva in later inscriptions from the region. This identification of Lōkēśvara with Śiva is further supported by an inscription¹⁵ of A.D. 1215 from Mundkūru, Mangalore Taluk, which refers to Śiva as Lōkēśvara. Kundavarma is described in the Kadiri inscription as *pād-āravinda-bhramaraḥ Bāla-chandraśikhāmaṇḥ*. Bālachandraśikhāmaṇi, in the context in which the phrase occurs, is most convincing as an epithet of Śiva, meaning he who has the crescent moon on his forehead. The Buddhist iconographical features in these Kadiri images are, therefore, to be taken not as evidence for the prevalence of Buddhism in South Kanara but as evidence of the influence of Buddhist iconographical prescriptions on the works of the sculptors who made those images. In this context, it may be pointed out that the *Nātha-pantha* school of Śaivism had allowed itself to be greatly influenced by Buddhism¹⁶ and that it was the prevalent faith at Kadiri at least from the middle of the 12th century. The earliest epigraphical reference to a *Nātha-pantha* deity occurs in the Kadiri inscription¹⁷ of the reign of Kavi-Āḷupendra, palaeographically assignable to the middle of the 12th century and recording grants to the Śaivite god Mañjunātha. It will

¹⁴ *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, Vol. I, p. 84; *History of Tuluva*, pp. 383 ff.

¹⁵ *ARSIE.*, 1929-30, 530.

¹⁶ Barth: *Religions of India*, p. 213.

¹⁷ *ARIE.*, 1964-65, App. B. 438.

otherwise be very difficult to explain away the prevalence of Buddhism at Kadiri alone and during Kundavarma's reign alone and its absence elsewhere in that region before and after.

Śaivism continued to be the chief religious faith of the state and the people during the period of the medieval Ālupas. Unlike the records of the early period, which are mostly in the nature of hero-stones, the inscriptions of the medieval Ālupas, belonging as they do to a period of comparative peace and progress, provide copious attestations to the religious leanings not only of the rulers and their individual subjects but of various organisations and guilds. The implicit faith of the rulers of South Kanara and their subjects in the efficacy of devotion to the gods cannot be better illustrated than by referring once again to the Sujēru inscription¹⁸ of A.D. 1305 from which we learn that Baṅkidēva II made a successful appeal for rains to the deity Timirēśvara at a time when his kingdom had been hit by drought.

The example in leading a life of religious faith was set by the king himself. We have seen that the royal court was graced, whenever the ruler granted audience, not only by his officials and princes but also by the priests (*purōhitaru*), preceptors (*dēśīpurusharu*) and ascetics (*rishiyaru*).

A number of Śaivite temples, with Śiva for the main deity, were built in many towns and villages of the Ālupa kingdom during this period. Such were the temples of Mārkaṇḍēśvara at Bārakūru and Kachchūru (Udipi Taluk), Baṅkēśvara at Maṅgaḷūru (Mangalore Taluk), Baindūru and Paḍuvari (Coondapur Taluk), Lōkēśvara at Mundkūru (Mangalore Taluk), Timirēśvara at Sujēru (Mangalore Taluk), Kōṭīśvara at Āvarśe and Pādebeṭṭu (Coondapur Taluk), Kāntēśvara at Beḷuvāyi (Mangalore Taluk) and Sōmanātha at Bārakūru and Handāḍi (Udipi Taluk) and Paḍuvari (Coondapur Taluk). We learn from the available inscriptions that these temples were rendered rich in lands and in money by generous gifts from the rulers as well as the people.

¹⁸ *ARSIE*, 1930-31, No. 338.

Śiva's consort in her ruthless form as Durga had a number of temples dedicated to her from early medieval times. As the main deity of a temple at Mūḍabidure she was known as Durgā-dēvi and Bidireya-Dēvi. Inscriptions in her temple at Nilavara call her as Niruvāra Bhagavati and Durgā-bhagavati.

The trade guild known as the *nakhara* was responsible for the building of a temple for Śiva, named Nakharēśvara, at the trade centre of Basarūru as early as in A.D. 1154.¹⁹ The Nakharēśvara temples, in particular, appear to have provided an important place to Gaṇapati for Nakharēśvarada-Gaṇapati figures prominently in inscriptions referring to the Nakharēśvara temples of Basarūru and Paṇambūru (Mangalore Taluk).

The Hindu Trinity Brahma-Vishṇu-Mahēśvara is mentioned in an inscription²⁰ of A.D. 1302 from Mangalore as receiving the *piṇḍa-dāna* given by the Ālupa ruler Baṅkidēva II for the merit of his deceased sister Mōchalamahādēvi.

The period of the medieval Ālupas is important for the religious history of South Kanara in that we get evidence, for the first time, for the prevalence of the cult of Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa and of Jainism. The earliest reference to a temple dedicated to Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa occurs only in A.D. 1286 and the deity is called Gōpinātha. Vaishṇavism was apparently the faith of a minority until it received a great fillip through the teachings of the great preacher Madhvāchārya towards the end of the thirteenth century. Even as it is, we will notice, in the passages to follow, that available inscriptions do not properly testify to the wide prevalence in South Kanara, during the Vijayanagara period, of the cult of Kṛishṇa, a fact which is otherwise copiously evidenced by other sources.

It is not known when exactly Jainism entered South Kanara. Existing temples of the Jains do not point out a much earlier date than the end of the thirteenth century. The reference to Pārśvadēva in the passage *Bidireya Pārśvadēvaru barayisi* in a

¹⁹ *III.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 393.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 177.

much damaged inscription²¹ from Mūḍabidure, belonging to A.D. 1215 and to the reign of Kulaśēkhara I, has been taken elsewhere²² to evidence the prevalence of Jainism in that region at least as early as in A.D. 1215. But this inscription as well as another²³ belonging to A.D. 1205 and to the same place and reign record grants made to the Śaivite goddess Durgā. In the context in which it occurs, Pārśvadēva can only be taken to stand for the proper name of an individual, no doubt a Jaina by faith, and not as the name of a Jaina deity.

It has also been suggested, on the strength of an undated Varāṅga inscription,²⁴ which has been discussed in detail in Chapter IV above, that Jainism was prevalent in South Kanara during the reign of Kulaśēkhara I. But we have pointed out above that this Varāṅga record belongs not to Kulaśēkhara I's reign but to that of his successor Kuṇḍaṇa. Kuṇḍaṇa was a Śāntara prince and was therefore a Jaina by faith. The mention of the Jaina preceptors Maladhāridēva, Mādhavachandra and Prabhāchandra in that record should be read with reference to Kuṇḍaṇa's brief rule over the Ālupa kingdom and not with reference to the prevalence of Jainism in South Kanara itself. Further, as has been shown in Chapter IV above, not only Kulaśēkhara I but his predecessors and his successors, with the exception of Kuṇḍaṇa, were Śaivites and made generous gifts to Śaivite temples. Kuṇḍaṇa's immediate successor Dattāḷupa II was actually a devoted disciple of the Śaivite preceptor Gaganaśivāchārya.

Jainism in South Kanara received royal patronage only after the advent of Hoysaḷa authority over the region. Ballāḷa III's queen Chikkāyi-Tāyi herself was a Śaivite and, during her sway over South Kanara, made grants to the gods Kōṭīśvara of Hatyaṅgaḍi (Coondapur Taluk), Virēśvara of Hosāḷa (Udipi Taluk), Kāntēśvara of Kāntāvara (Karkala Taluk), Sōmanātha

²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 222.

²² *History of Tuluva*, p. 413.

²³ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 223.

²⁴ *ARSIE.*, 1928-29, No. 526.

of Bārakūru and Durgā-bhagavati of Nīlāvara (Udipi Taluk) and to the *brāhmaṇas*.

But the Hoysaḷa feudatory Lōkanāthadēvarasa, whose possessions included portions of the Karkala Taluk of South Kanara, was a Jaina ruler. His inscription²⁵ from Hiriyāṅgaḍi, belonging to A.D. 1334, records grants of lands by a number of donors including the ruler's sisters Bommalaḍēvī and Sōmaladēvī, to the *basti* of Śāntinātha built at Kārakaḷa by the disciples of the Jaina preceptor Kumudachandra-bhaṭṭāṛakadēva. From this, it may be safely concluded that Jainism had made gains in South Kanara at least early in the fourteenth century.

The Āḷupa ruler Kulaśēkhara III was much influenced by Jainism. His inscription²⁶ from Mūḍabidure, belonging to A.D. 1384, states that he was a worshipper at the feet of the Jaina preceptor Chārukirtti (*śrīmach-Chārukirtti divya-śrīpādapaḍm-ārādhaka*) and that he was seated on his jewelled throne at a *basadi* (name damaged in the record) at Bidire. The inscription records grants made by the ruler to the Jaina deity Pārśvanātha.

This, however, does not prove that Kulaśēkhara had become a convert to Jainism. His immediate successor, Vīrapāṇḍyadēva II, who is the last known of the Āḷupa rulers, is seen, in his only available inscription²⁷ from Mūḍabidure, dated A.D. 1397, making grants to the goddess Durgādēvī showing thereby that, during their long existence as a ruling family from the middle of the 7th to the end of the 14th century, the Āḷupas had displayed unswerving faith in their original religion, Śaivism.

The large number of Vijayanagara inscriptions dating from A.D. 1345 and, for purposes of this work upto 1565 show that Śaivism maintained its position as the principal religion of the region but that Jainism and, to a lesser extent, Vaiṣṇavism had also risen to great popularity. The principal city of South Kanara in those days, Bārakūru, was the scene of hectic

²⁵ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 247.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 225.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 221.

religious activities and housed within its bounds temples dedicated to the deities of all these three faiths. Inscriptions copied from this ancient city refer to the Śaivite temples of Mārkaṇḍēśvara, Nāgēśvara, Bhairavadēva, Chaṇḍikādēvi and to three different temples of Sōmanātha in the city's three quarters, Tāmbulageṛe, Maṇigāṛakēri and Mūṛukēri. Another important Śaivite temple at Bārakūru was that of Kelleṅgeṛeya-Vināyaka which was rendered rich by many grants by its devoted followers, the *aivaru-samasta-halaru* (*aivaru-samasta-halaru koṇḍāḍuvantā Kelleṅgeṛeya Vināyakadēvaru*). This temple also contained subsidiary shrines for Mahādēva and the Vaishṇavite deity, Gōpinātha.

Among the Vaishṇavite temples at Bārakūru were those of Gōpinātha, Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇumūrthi. The Jainas had at least three temples in that city, two of them dedicated to Pārśvanātha and Ādiparamēśvara and the third called Māṇikyabasti.

Throughout the length and breadth of South Kanara were a number of temples of Śiva differently called Mārkaṇḍēśvara, Kōṭēśvara, Kōṭinātha or Kōṭīśvara, Kāntēśvara, Timirēśvara, Nakharēśvara, Nandikēśvara, Tuḷuvēśvara, Gōkarṇēśvara, Mahābalēśvara, Kundēśvara, Kīṛumandilēśvara, Sōmēśvara, Sōmanātha, Virabhadra, Mahāliṅga, Pañchaliṅga, Mahādēva, Śaṅkara, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Viśvanātha and Amṛitanātha. Besides these, temples for Śiva, called by them Mañjunātha, were built at Kadiri, Baṇṭvāḷa-mūḍa and Baṅgārakuduru in Mangalore Taluk and Īdu in Karkala Taluk by the followers of the *Nātha-pantha* school of Śaivism. We have stated earlier that a temple for Mañjunātha was in existence at Kadiri even in the 12th century during the reign of Kavi-Ālupēndradēva. This school of Śaivism, which was much influenced by Buddhism, does not appear to have spread in South Kanara outside the Mangalore and Karkala Taluks.

Other temples dedicated to Śaivite deities were those for Śiva's consort, differently called Bhagavati, Durgā-bhagavati, Durgāparamēśvari, Hīṅgulādēvi, Hoḷaladēvi and Mūkāmbikā. At Paṇambūru (Mangalore Taluk) was a temple dedicated to Umā-Mahēśvara.

Many of the Śaivite temples named above were in plural numbers and in many villages. For instance, we learn from available inscriptions of the period that there were at least ten temples in different villages dedicated to Mahadēva during this period.

Vaishṇavism received a tremendous fillip in the second half of the 13th century through the teachings of one of the greatest sons of South Kanara, Madhvāchārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of Philosophy. While even a cursory examination of the present day religious schools of South Kanara will prove the wide prevalence of Vaishṇavism in that region, it is difficult to assess the impact of the great teacher's preachings on the minds of the Tuluvas during the period with which we are concerned. If the number of temples is taken as an indication, it is apparent that the wealth and numbers of the Śaivites were greater than those of any other faith in South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period right until the empire's fall. The temple of Kṛishṇa at Udipi, around which revolves the whole edifice of Madhvāchārya's school, finds its earliest mention in an epigraph only in A.D. 1366-67, almost five decades after the founder's death. And, for the period under question, only a few temples are heard of dedicated to Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa, differently called Viṣṇumūrti, Kṛishṇa, Narasimha, Chakrapāṇi, Gōpinātha, Nārāyaṇa, Sūryanārāyaṇa, Lakshminārāyaṇa, Janārdana, Tirumala, Viṭhala and Rāmachandra. Another Vaishṇavite deity held in great reverence by the followers of Madhvāchārya and referred to in the records of the period is Āñjanēya.

As in the late medieval period when we hear of a temple for Brahma-Viṣṇu-Mahēśvara, the Hindu trinity, called in an inscription of A. D. 1347 as Trimūrti, had a temple at Keragāla in Coonadpur Taluk.

Jainism rose to great heights during this period and was the religion of a large section of the people and of many of the local ruling families, especially during the 15th and following centuries. Many trade guilds and local assemblies caused the renovation of old and the building of new Jaina *bastis* all over the region, parti-

cularly in the Jaina strong holds of the Karkala Taluk. It was during this period that Kārakaḷa, Mūḍabidure and Vēṇūr became great centres of Jainism. While it was not the case with the other parts of the Tuḷu country, Jainism became the principal faith in these populous townships, all three of them situated in the Karkala Taluk. The large number of Jaina *bastis*, which are masterpieces of architecture, even today stand in silent witness to the heyday of Jainism in these towns during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Inscriptions of this period from Mūḍabidure contain many stanzas in praise of the devotion to Jainism of the Kaḷasa-Kārakaḷa and Nagire rulers, of various guilds and individuals and even of the young ones. Thus an inscription²⁸ of A.D. 1429, of the reign of Dēvarāya II, which names Mūḍabidure as Vēṇupura, says—

Tuḷu-dēśakke viśiṣṭam-appa nagaram
śrī-Vēṇu-nāmā puram
vilasach-chhrī-Jīna-dharmma-mārgga-ratarim
sat-pātra-dānaṅgaḷim ¹
nalaviṁ-mālpa subhavyarim Jīnakath-ālāpaṅgaḷam
sādhu sam -
kuḷadiṁ kēḷva suśīla-satpurusharim -
oppippud-amtā puram ^{||}

The author of another inscription²⁹ of the same year and reign describes the young lads of Mūḍabidure as *bālakar-ellar-udgha-Jīna-dharmma-ratar* and as *anindya-Jīn-ōdita-śāstraśālīgāḷ*.

Devotion to Jainism was a common zeal among many ruling houses and their services to their faith were done without any reference to the territorial limitations of their own tiny principalities. As an instance, we may quote the inscriptions of the Nagire rulers at Kārakaḷa and Mūḍabidure and the building of the Pārśvanātha-basti at Bārakūru by the Kaḷasa-Kārakaḷa ruler, Pāṇḍya-bhupāla in A.D. 1408.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 202.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 196.

At Mūḍabidure, which is eulogised in one record³⁰ as *Jina-dharmmad-āgaram*, there were many exquisitely built Jaina-bastis (*uru-Jain-ālaya-ramya-harmya-chayadiṁ chelv-ādudettaṁ puram*). The earliest epigraphical reference³¹ is to the Gurugaḷa-basti of Chaṇḍōgra-Pārśvadēva in A.D. 1390. Since, in this year, some grants made to the *basti* are recorded, the *basti* itself must have been built earlier. The Mūḍabidure record³² (A.D. 1430) of Dēvarāya II records the building of the Tribhuvana-chūḍāmaṇi-mahāchaitya by the Jaina preceptor Abhinava-Chārūkirtti-panḍita with the assistance of the people of Śālike-nāḍu, the Chauṭa ruler and the *aruvaru-ballāḷugaḷu* and with the money granted by the imperial governor Dēvarāja-Oḍeya. The extent of the support which Jainism enjoyed in those days in South Kanara is evidenced by the statement in the record that the governor made the grant on the orders of the emperor himself. In A.D. 1430, Bhairava of the Nagire ruling house provided copper covering (*tāmra-podake*) for the third story of the Tribhuvana-chūḍāmaṇi-chaitya of Chandra-Jina built by the *halaru* at Mūḍabidure.³³ In A. D. 1451, a number of *settis* caused the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Tribhuvana-chūḍāmaṇi-chaitya to be built and were also responsible for carrying out a number of repairs.³⁴

We have seen, in Chapter VI above, that the Nagire ruler Bhairava I, when his illness had turned fatal in A.D. 1461, made grants for worship to the deities Chandranāthasvāmi, Supārśva-tīrthaṅkara and Chandraprabha-tīrthaṅkara of the same Tribhuvana-chūḍāmaṇi-chaitya.³⁵ A number of such inscriptions testify to the growth of Jainism and Jaina temples in that city at the hands of the imperial authority, local rulers, local guilds and the commoners.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 198.

³¹ *Ibid.*, No. 299.

³² *Ibid.*, No. 196.

³³ *Ibid.*, No. 202.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 197.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 203.

Kāraḱaḱaḱa was one of the capital cities of the Jaina rulers of the Kaḱasa-Kārkakaḱa-rāja. These rulers expended much of their wealth on constructing Jaina *bastis* and in spreading Jainism among their subjects. The greatest achievements in this field of this family of rulers were undoubtedly the two Jaina colossi at Kāraḱaḱa and Vēṇūr, fashioned after the 10th century colossus at Śravaṇa-beḱagoḱa. The bigger of these two Gummaṭa images is at Kāraḱaḱa and it was caused to be made by Vira-Pāṇḱaya I, the son of Bhairava I, in A.D. 1432.³⁶ The statue at Vēṇūr was erected in A.D. 1604 and hence is outside the purview of the present work.

In the Karkala Taluk, apart from Kāraḱaḱa, Mūḱabidure and Vēṇūr, Hiriyāṅgaḱi, Nellikara, Koraga, Varāṅga and Kera-vase also fostered Jainism and contained Jaina bastis. Of these Keravase enjoyed the position of being the secondary capital of the Kaḱasa-Kārkakaḱa rulers. Jainism had also made its mark at Basarūru, Bainḱūru and Hatyaṅgaḱi in the Coondapur Taluk and at Guruvāyankere in the Puttur Taluk.

Jaina pontificates were established during the fourteenth century at Kāraḱaḱa and Mūḱabidure. The earliest known pontiff at Kāraḱaḱa, mentioned in the inscription of the Hoysaḱa feudatory Lōkanāthadēvarasa, had the title of *Bhānukīrtti* while his successors were known by that of *Lalitakīrtti*. The pontiffs at Mūḱabidure were known as *Chārukīrtti* and some of them had the distinguishing prefix of *Abhinava*. They were held in great respect by the Jaina disciples, foremost among whom were the rulers of the Kaḱasa-Kārkakaḱa-rāja from whom the preceptors received such epithets as *rāja-guru* and *kula-guru*. Many *Chaityas* in South Kanara were built and repaired during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the advice of these pontiffs.

This chapter will not be complete without a discussion of the available material on temple administration. Early inscriptions are completely silent in this regard. It may, however, be presumed that the Śaivite priests, *goravaru*, had a hand in the

³⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 109-10.

administration of temples in those early days. Many grants to temples in early medieval days were entrusted to the care of the *sēnabōva* from which it may be concluded that he had also the business of looking after temple affairs in his village.

During the medieval period, an official designated *sthānapati* and primarily concerned with temple administration makes his appearance in the inscriptions. The caste label *sthānika* applied to a section of *brāhmaṇas* in present day South Kanara, who are solely meant for the profession of temple service, is to be traced to this official designation of *Sthānapati*. The *sthānapati*, however, was only one of the officials meant for temple affairs. Another temple official designated *karttā* also finds frequent mention in the later records. Practically every government servant serving in a given region, in the medieval days, was connected with the affairs of the temple in that area. The best illustration for this observation is provided by the Mangalore inscription³⁷ of A.D. 1204 of the reign of Kulaśēkhara Āḷupa I. This record lays down the following duties for the many officials and individuals:

sthāna-tantri: he should perform all his duties connected with the deity's *avabhṛita-snāna* on the occasion of every *saṁkrānti*;

pādamūladavaru: they should make available, without fail and without reduction, the quantity of rice for the offering of everyday *nivēdya* to the deity;

adhyaksha: he should give daily discourses in the temple precincts;

sēnabōva: he should keep daily minutes on the above activities;

adhikāri: he should punish the above officials for any lapses on their part in carrying out their duties specified above and should, besides, make available oil for burning the perpetual lamp in the temple;

aṅgaḍiya-adhikāri: he should arrange for oil for the lamps for *Śivarātri* and for rice for the *brāhmaṇas* on the day of *ārādhana*.

³⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 185.

Besides these, the inscription also stipulates that an individual named Āsraṇṇa should guard the perpetual lamp from going off; that the dancing girls (*kūtāḍuva-bāke-naṁgeyavaru*) should come to the temple everyday as per the custom in vogue; that, if the king does not enquire into the matters and set right any lapses, he would have committed the sin of killing 1000 cows and *brāhmaṇas* at Gaṅgā and Rāmēśvara.

Though such was the case even under the medieval Ālupas, during the Vijayanagara period, guilds and local assemblies were more frequently entrusted with the task of protecting and administering gifts and grants made to temples. Expressions such as *Chaulikēriyalli mūvaru settikāraru halaru pratipālisuvaru*, *ī dharmada pārupatya oḍetana Kōṭekēriya halaru settikārarige* etc., are very often met with in the records of this period.

Jainism, though, like Buddhism, it was originally conceived as a classless religion fostering human equality, came to South Kanara as a religion which classified its followers much like Hinduism. The present day counterparts in Jainism for the *sthānika* community of Śaivism are called in South Kanara as *indras* and they are Jaina *brāhmaṇas*. However, during the Vijayanagara period, which embraces in a large measure the history of Jainism in South Kanara, *sthānapathi* or *sthānika* was the title of some of the persons engaged in running the affairs of the Jaina *bastis* as well. This was logical enough in view of the fact that *sthāna* generally denoted a place on which stood a temple or which was the property of such a temple. The Jaina *bastis* also had officials who were known as the *karttā*.

Instances are too many to be quoted which illustrate the spirit of religious tolerance which characterised the lives and deeds of the rulers and people of the period. It must be pointed out here that the example in religious tolerance was set up by the Vijayanagara emperors and their governors whose many and generous grants benefitted Śaivite and Vaishṇavite temples and Jaina *bastis* in equal measures. The best illustration of this tolerant spirit is afforded by the hectic religious activities carried on by the Jaina adherents even after South Kanara, during

Sadāśivarāya's reign, had come under the sway of the staunchly Śaivite family of Keladi rulers who, as has been shown in Chapter VI, were responsible for eliminating from the pages of history all the Jaina ruling families of the region.

Religious festivals were celebrated with great enthusiasm and available inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period contain references to the festivals of *Dīpāvalīke* (*Dīvalige*), *Pañcha-parva*, *Śivarātri*, *Vasanta-yugādi*, *Vaiśākha-hunnime*, *nūla-habba*, *Benakana-chauti*, *Tuḍiya-habba* etc. We learn from an inscription³⁸ of A.D. 1458 that *Dīpāvalīke* was celebrated with a festival of lights lasting for three days (*dīvaligeya habbada mūru-dina dīpōstsavada dharmma*).

Citizen's and merchants' guilds as also prominent individuals had their customary ranks and privileges on occasions of public celebration of religious festivals. Mutual differences and rivalries in this regard occasionally led to disturbances and clashes between rival groups of devotees. The most serious of such disturbances is found recorded in the Kōṭēśvara inscription (A.D. 1551) of the reign of Sadāśivarāya. This highly interesting inscription records that in the month of Kārttika (in A.D. 1550) the entire Tuḷu-rājya had assembled at Kōṭēśvara to celebrate the *Tuḍiya-habba* i.e. the festival of lights. At that time, for reasons not stated in the record a serious dispute broke out and the assembled pilgrims were involved in armed conflicts. The temple precincts were defiled by the corpses of *brāhmaṇas*, *śūdras* and sacred cows and, consequently, the temple doors were closed and all worship and services to the deity were suspended. On Saturday the 11th of April, A.D. 1551, which is the date of the record, expiatory services were conducted under the orders of the then muslim governor of Bārakūru-rājya, Ekadhāḷakhāna and the temple doors were once again opened.

Temple honours to individuals and groups were ordered by convention and were strictly adhered to. Attempts at superceding these conventions occasionally resulted in disputes. We have referred, in Chapter VII above, to the agreement arrived

³⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 336.

at between the *seṭṭikāra* guilds of *paḍuvakēri* and *mūḍakēri* at Basarūru regarding the provision of sheep, areca-nuts etc., to the temple of Dēvi on occasions of festivals and even regarding the streets through which they should take their respective articles to the temple.

The most common of grants made to temples was, naturally, land and it was called *dēvasva* even as land donated to *brāhmaṇas* was known as *brahmasva*. *Dēvasva* lands were as a rule exempted from all or many of the land and agricultural taxes and the building of palaces by the rulers on such lands was expressly forbidden by such statements as *arasige aramane kaṭṭuva adhikāravilla*. Even the construction of other temples on a *dēvasva* land is found prohibited in some inscriptions (e.g., *ī dēvasvadalli iḷidu guḍiya kaṭṭa salladu*). Besides declaring land-gifts to temples as tax-free, inscriptions also stipulate that the incomes in kind and in cash should go to the temples irrespective of the failure of the seasons (e.g. *varushaṁprati bānagēḍu baṛagēḍu ennade naḍasi baharu*).³⁹ The purposes for which grants were made to the temples were scrupulously adhered to and any lapses in this regard were set right after due enquiry and at the earliest opportunity. We have seen, in Chapter VI above, that, as a result of an invasion of Śivalḷi in A.D. 1437 by the imperial governor Aṇṇappa-Oḍeya, the affairs of the famous Kṛishṇa temple at Uḍipi had fallen into bad ways and that, in order to restore its original glory, the temple received a number of grants and that the idol of Kṛishṇa, which had been removed elsewhere during the disturbances, was brought back and reinstalled in the temple.

Religious conditions in South Kanara remained much the same even after the fall of Vijayanagara; only the school of Madhvāchārya gained greatly in its following and came to occupy a position of pre-eminence at the expense of Śaivism and, in particular, of Jainism. This development, however, falls beyond the scope of the present work.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 444.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

Much has been written on the lessons and warnings which the sudden and tragic collapse of the great power of Vijayanagara at the dawn of A.D. 1565 holds out for mankind. Yet, those who lived in that year to witness and to suffer by that cataclysm viewed the tragedy as just another fall of an empire in just another trial of strength. The empire that rolled into dust before their fleeing eyes was not of greater avail to them than the meagre remnants of the imperial riches which they still had the time to lay their hands upon. Neither the princes and the nobility, who had suddenly lost the security and luxuries of a well-built empire, nor the inhabitants of the great City of Victory and its surrounding areas, who had lost even more, grasped the immediate significance of this defeat and proved it by plunging head-long into countless intrigues even before the dust had settled back on the battle-field. The throne which had been, for more than two eventful centuries, the nucleus and source of strength and inspiration for a vast and flourishing empire became the symbol of dissensions and sanguinary deeds. The epidemic of recalcitrance spread fast and wide and erstwhile feudatories lost no time in practicing independence.¹ Surprisingly, as though, available inscriptions belonging to the post-Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi period show that the border province of South Kanara continued to form a part of as much of the empire as had survived that inglorious battle. Really speaking, however, there was no element of surprise in the continued provincial status of Tuluva even beyond A.D. 1565. It was the direct and logical result of certain far-reaching developments in the political history of the region early in the second half of the 16th century. But

¹ *Vide A History of South India* (II edn.), p. 285.

before studying these developments it may be well to examine the factors which allowed them to take place without a murmur of protest either from the people or from the chieftains of the many local principalities.

It has been made clear in Chapters III and IV above, while dealing with the history of the region from the middle of the 7th century to the end of the 14th, that, for centuries at a stretch, the inhabitants of Tuḷuva were allowed to enjoy political independence and isolation to a degree unknown to any other region of similar size and situation in the peninsula. During this protracted period, they were under the sway of the Āḷupas, their own native ruling house, had developed their own political and administrative set up and even economic life and had had ample time and opportunities to develop a distinct social and linguistic identity for themselves. Even after the invasion of the kingdom by Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III and during the reign of his queen Chikkāyi Tāyi (A.D. 1333-1348) over the region, the Tuḷuvās continued to owe allegiance to the old ruling house of the Āḷupas. If the suggestion² that Chikkāyi-Tāyi was an Āḷupa prince is to be accepted, it becomes clear that the Hoysaḷa invasion resulted in the sway over Tuḷuva by two rulers of the same native dynasty and not in the introduction of an alien rule. The Āḷupas continued as a ruling power, even after the annexation of their kingdom by the Vijayanagara empire, until about A.D. 1400 and never once did they acknowledge the Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagara rulers as their masters.

The long life of the Āḷupa dynasty appears to have met with a natural end. There is nothing on record to even suggest that the Āḷupas were put down by force and eliminated from power. In the light of the complete absence of any mention of Āḷupa subordination to the Vijayanagara emperors, it is reasonable to surmise that the presence of imperial authority in their kingdom, which the military strength of the Āḷupas was incapable of preventing, must have set in motion a steady decline in the power potential of the Āḷupas and must have resulted in

² *History of Tuḷuva*, pp. 290-91; *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 165.

their silent departure from the political arena. For a student of Tuluva history, who is bound to miss, with a sense of sadness, a vital link in the long history of the region with the tacit exit of this ancient ruling house, the fact that they survived as local rulers for over half a century the extension of Vijayanagara authority into South Kanara strikingly brings home not only the long standing of the Ālupas in that region but also the Tuluvas' sustained loyalty to their old institutions and their love for the values of political independence. For, the Ālupas could not have run their own line of administration, side by side with that of a far more resourceful imperial power, in the absence of allegiance and support from their subjects. But the final result of this unequal competition between the Ālupas and Vijayanagara, in which neither rival bothered about the other, was dictated by the vast difference in resources of the contenders, one a minor dynasty strictly confined to a tiny stretch of land and the other well set on its journey towards greater glories. The political independence of South Kanara, which has been repeatedly noticed in the pages above and which the region, its rulers and their subjects had come to enjoy largely owing to the attitude of indifference successively inherited in the earlier centuries from one imperial power of the Deccan by its successor, was no longer compatible with the policy of unifying the whole of South India as a bastion against the onslaughts of the standard-bearers of Islam.

Though Tuluva thus lost its political independence, its people retained their distinct identity and they were helped in achieving this by the administrative set up introduced into the region by the emperors. Had the imperial governors been so instructed, they could have, at their will, replaced every indigenous set up in the administration with the method prevalent elsewhere in the empire. On the other hand, South Kanara inscriptions of this period clearly demonstrate the fact that the governors fostered every local institution and that these organisations, with a local stamp, grew in number and importance as the decades rolled by. It is also seen from available records that the administrative grip of the imperial authorities tightened only

gradually, becoming more and more comprehensive and assertive as time wore out. This coupled with the fact that numerous chunks of the district came under the sway of local rulers, who enjoyed considerable autonomy within their own territorial spheres, must have left the Tuḷuvas with much of their legacy as an independent people.

In this, the many local chieftains played, by necessity, a peculiar role. There were many fairly powerful chieftains, like the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa rulers, and there were others like the Ajilars who controlled only a few villages. Most of them professed the Jaina faith and the imperial administration posed no affront to their religious freedom. At the same time, these chieftains were ill-disposed towards one another and hence were at no time of any threat to the running of the imperial administration. In spite of the complete absence of any epigraphical evidence to this effect, it may be safely concluded that these chieftains paid regular tributes to the imperial treasury as a price for their respective regional autonomy. Each local ruler had his own army but these were for most of the time engaged in mutual warfares. The inscriptions of these local rulers suggest that they had learnt to ignore, for most of the period, the imperial governments of Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru. This feeling extended itself to their subjects who had other reasons too for inculcating a feeling of indifference towards the fate of the empire though not towards the imperial authorities who were present in their midst.

The storm in the form of a militant religious crusade, which had frightened the rest of the Hindu rulers of South India to unite behind one throne and fight for the survival of their ageless religious values, had, till then, never once blown across South Kanara. We have pointed out above that the annexation of the coastal kingdom was carried out by the empire to facilitate the import of war horses from foreign lands. The Tuḷuvas must have felt lukewarm towards this new power because its arrival led to the decline and final disappearance of their ancient royal house. Only the utter impossibility of contesting the extension of im-

perial sway into their region forced the Tuḷuvas to accept their provincial status. But the steady increase in trade and in money circulation which brought forth numerous benefits to the people of South Kanara appears to have resulted in increased familiarity between the people and their new masters. The large number of inscriptions, which become more copious reign after reign, attest to the increased participation, side by side, of the imperial officers and the people of South Kanara. In addition to this, we also notice in the inscriptions, a greater degree of contacts between the governors and the local rulers.

This steady improvement in relationship between the governors on the one hand and the people and local chieftains on the other received a serious set-back early in the second half of the 16th century. Sometime in or before A.D. 1554, the region of South Kanara fell into the hands of the Keḷadi ruler Sadāśiva-nāyaka when it was gifted to him as *amara-māgaṇi* by the puppet emperor Sadāśiva (A.D. 1542-76). Sadāśiva-nāyaka is said to have over-run the entire district and, after putting down the local rulers, is said to have commemorated his triumphal march by erecting a pillar of victory at Kasargode.³ Neither the developments which called for this invasion nor whether it preceded or followed the imperial gift of the territory to Sadāśiva-nāyaka is stated anywhere. It will be reasonable, however, to presume that the invasion followed the gift. It is well known that the Keḷadi rulers were devout followers of Vīraśaivism. It is not unlikely that, when South Kanara was brought under their control, the Jaina chieftains, fearing for their religious freedom, rose in revolt. The Keḷadi house was too powerful to be deterred and Sadāśiva-nāyaka established his mastery over the region by a show of his military strength. This military success ensured the continuance of South Kanara, by virtue of its subjection to Keḷadi authority, as a province of the decimated empire of Vijayanagara even beyond A.D. 1565. But it must be remembered that Keḷadi subordination to Vijayanagara after A.D. 1565 was only opportunistic and was no more than a stroke

³ *Śivatattvaratnākara*, kallōla V, v. 5; *Keḷadi-nṛpa-vijaya*, II.

of political diplomacy. The Keḷadi house had built its own formidable power and no longer depended on the strength and stability of the empire for its own survival.

Keḷadi authority over South Kanara put an end to the direct relationship between the region and the empire. Till A.D. 1554, the emperor himself or his immediate officer appointed tested servants to the posts of governors at Bārakūru and Maṅga-lūru. But the Keḷadi rulers appointed their own men to rule over South Kanara and whenever they sought imperial consent for their nominees, it was more as a matter of courtesy to the tottering throne.

These developments had a marked impact in the life of the Tuḷuva populace. They once again lapsed into a feeling of indifference towards the fate of the empire. They appear to have lost once again the interest in participating in the day to day political administration of the region. This lack of interest may be one of the reasons why, when the entire South was shocked into disunity immediately after the empire's defeat at Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi, South Kanara displayed no such initiative in earning back its political independence. This lack of interest is illustrated by the decrease in the number of inscriptions in Tuḷuva after A.D. 1565. Even of the small number of available records of the post-1565 era, the majority do not refer to any political authority but merely record grants made by private individuals. This tendency to ignore political developments at home persisted for long and untill the first of November 1956 when South Kanara was allowed to re-enter the fold of its parent state of Kaṛṇāṭaka and strive in unity for the glory of Mother India.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Ancient Karnāṭaka, Vol. I, History of Tuḷuva: *History of Tuḷuva*.
 2. Annual Report, Mysore Archaeological Department: *ARMAD*.
 3. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy: *ARIE*.
 4. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy: *ARSIE*.
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(The figures refer to pages, *n.* after a figure to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are also used: *au.* = author; *ca.* = capital; *ch.* = chief; *ci.* = city; *co.* = country; *de.* = deity; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *ep.* = epithet; *fa.* = family; *fe.* = female; *feud.* = feudatory; *gen.* = general; *gov.* = governor; *k.* = king; *l.* = locality; *m.* = male; *min.* = minister; *myth.* = mythological; *n.* = name; *N.* = Northern; *off.* = office, officer; *peo.* = people; *pl.* = place; *pr.* = prince, princess; *prin.* = principality; *prov.* = province; *q.* = queen; *ri.* = river; *S.* = Southern; *s.a.* = same as; *te.* = temple; *t.d.* = territorial division; *tit.* = title; *tn.* = town; *vi.* = village; *Vij.* = Vijayanagara; *W.* = Western; *wk.* = work; *wt.* = weight.)

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